# Fair Ball

## Towards Sex Equality in Canadian Sport

M. Ann Hall and Dorothy A. Richardson

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**M. Ann Hall**
is a Professor in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta. She has written and lectured extensively on the sociological aspects of women in sport. An active feminist, she is a past president of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.

**Dorothy A. Richardson**
has been an athlete, a physical educator, and a provincial public servant. Currently, she is a federal human rights commissioner, a partner in the consulting firm of Darmah Associates Ltd., and an active feminist.

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# 1

# WHAT'S THE ISSUE ALL ABOUT?

Sport is such a significant aspect of our culture that we sometimes take it too much for granted. It touches us all – from our childhood days on the playground, to the activities we can enjoy in the magnificent Canadian outdoors, to the televised sports events that sometimes invade our living rooms. As we grow older, we often enjoy sporting and recreation opportunities vicariously through our children. Sport does not usually dominate our lives and we can ignore it if we choose. But upon reflection, we realize that for many Canadians, albeit more males than females, it is important to their lives and lifestyles.

Sport is a cultural artifact, deeply embedded in our society.

Many of the values we admire in our sportswomen and sportsmen – honesty, fair play, hard work, discipline, dedication – are the very societal values we wish to see inculcated in everyone. Sport, therefore, is highly significant in the socialization of our young people.

Sports consumerism, whether through active participation or passive viewing, is also big business and thus important to our economy. There is even a symbiotic relationship between sport and politics, for governments insist on using sport to enhance national prestige and power. The sporting metaphor is everywhere. There are businessmen who attribute their corporate success to "team play", politicians who speak reassuringly of "game plans", and military leaders who in the absence of war lead their troops through innumerable "war games".

The problem with all this, for women at least, is that it is all so very macho, so masculine. Like most aspects of society, sport is essentially androcentric or male-dominated, a reality we may not wish to accept, but a fact nonetheless. Nevertheless over the years, like our society, sport has changed considerably. It is certainly less patriarchal now, and women have slowly but surely begun to find their place in the established sports world. Still, old attitudes and beliefs are difficult to change. Many inequities still persist. Moreover, many women are beginning to question whether they really want a place, especially a subservient one, in the male-dominated sports world. Some consider it necessary to create their own, alternative world based on truly feminist principles.

**Sex Inequalities Still Persist**

The position taken in this book is that there have been and continue to be inequities in sport, recreation and physical education that affect both girls and women. For instance, we will document a significant increase over the past decade in the involvement of Canadian girls and women, at all levels, *as* active participants in sport and physical activity. But the increase is not proportionately as great as it has been for males. Why is this so? Despite improvements in both fitness levels and the appreciation of its value, Canadian females at virtually every age-level score in the low fitness category (lower than males of a similar age). Some sex differences may be due to differences in size and strength, but most are attributable to cultural rather than physiological factors.

What are these cultural barriers? Why do they continue to exist? Young women are becoming increasingly aware of the potential for sport-related careers, be it as a professional player, coach, administrator, physical educator or fitness expert. And yet, the number of women in leadership roles, such as coaches, administrators and executives, has increased only minimally and in the case of some sports has declined over the past few years. The general trend is still towards disproportionately low levels of leadership representation among women, despite their relatively high levels of active participation (see Chapter 4).

Public awareness of sex discrimination in sport has been raised through the publicity surrounding specific complaints to human rights

commissions. Yet, by and large, legislation has proven to be an ineffective means for remedying sex discrimination in sport. In fact, some commissions do not consider sport and recreation-related complaints within their jurisdiction. In the most widely publicized cases, the legal question being addressed is not, for example, whether a girl should be allowed to play on a boys' sports team but whether human rights legislation applies to amateur sport organizations and associations. The issue of integrated versus single-sex teams is rarely addressed (see Chapter 2).

As we learn more about the physical potential of women, the myths surrounding their participation in strenuous physical activity are rapidly being debunked. Yet there is still considerable concern that sport, particularly of the vigorous, competitive variety, will somehow "masculinize" the female athlete. In fact, some researchers may be doing more to perpetuate than to eliminate the negative stereotypes associated with female athleticism because they insist on continually re-examining the alleged femininity/sport conflict (see Chapter 5).

The topic of women in sport is also under increasing scrutiny at the popular, academic and policy levels. There has been greater media coverage; there is an explosion in written material, both popular and scholarly; and several national and provincial conferences have been convened to formulate and implement sport policy (see Chapter 6). Still, major network coverage of women's sport is relatively limited. The electronic media often refuse to treat women's sport seriously, preferring to broadcast, for example, the participation of professional cheerleaders or of film and television personalities in so-called "trash" sports, which are more akin to stunts than sports. Women have also had to create their own sports magazines and books to counter the minimal coverage of women's sport in the popular press.

The point is that although the status of girls and women involved in sport, recreation and physical education has improved considerably, many inequities are still present. We will document this sex inequality in the chapters to follow.

**What is Sport?**

Before describing and discussing Canadian women's experience in sport, it is important to agree on what we mean by sport. Sport sociologists and philosophers agonize over the nature and precise meaning of sport, and are often more confusing than elucidative. Throughout this book, we use the term in the way we feel most people use it; that is, in its everyday sense. Quite simply, sport is a spectrum of physical activities ranging from the more recreational, unorganized pursuits of relatively uncommitted individuals through to athletic competition at its highest levels, demanding not only arduous training but often unremitting and single-minded determination. Later on, we deal individually with recreational, competitive and high performance sport.

For many people, sport is recreation, something done in one's free time. But for many others, sport is more than a leisure-time activity; it is a serious commitment, sometimes a profession. This is true for both sexes. One's experience in sport will vary, however, from individual to individual. Some experience joy and elation, others only humiliation and alienation.

One's gender should have nothing to do with one's experience in sport, but the facts tell us otherwise. Girls and women often do not experience sport in the same way as do boys and men. For one thing, the sporting qualities and achievements of males tend to provide the evaluative criteria against which females are judged. How often have you heard or perhaps even observed yourself: "She plays just like a boy" or "she performs like a man"? Rarely is women's sport evaluated as something worthwhile *in its own right*, without unfortunate comparisons to the qualitatively different sporting performance and achievements of males.

We suggest that because of this insidious comparison women often experience sport quite differently from men, if they experience it at all. As a result, women have a second-class status in the androcentric world of sport. For much of the past century, there was little we could do about our secondary status, given the restrictive and reactionary attitudes towards female athleticism. As we will see shortly, many of these attitudes still persist.

There is no doubt that much has improved: the opportunities for women are much greater than ever in the past. Our eventual goal, however, is the recognition by everyone that women's experience, achievements and performance in sport should be valued equally with that of men's. As utopian as this sounds, sport must change and women must ensure that it evolves in the proper direction.

**Questioning the Sports World**

Why is it so important to ask "why"? Why not just accept the sports world as it is and get on with it? Why not accept the fact that there are far fewer psychological and material rewards available to women athletes and hence considerably less access to status and prestige? Why must professional women athletes possess attractive features and a curvaceous body before they can benefit from lucrative product endorsements? Why do girls and women, in contrast to boys and men, participate less frequently, in fewer numbers, and in a limited variety of sports and physical activities? Why has it taken the International Olympic Committee, which controls the administration of the Olympic Games, eighty-seven years to elect its first women members (and then only two out of eighty-five)? Why are there disproportionately fewer Olympic events for women? For too long now, sportswomen have accepted all this and much more. They have rarely asked why it should be like this. They have accepted this double standard in the sports world and only recently begun to cry "foul".

It is absolutely essential to question the sex structure of the sporting world, because to do so is to challenge the very nature of the sex structure of society itself. What is this "sex structure"? Within Canadian society there is a hierarchy of social roles based along class lines. In the same way there is a hierarchy of the sexes based on sex roles. One defines the *social structure* of our society and the other the *sex structure*. We live in an androcentric world, which defines certain social and economic roles as more prestigious for males than for females. Someone once suggested that both men and women are in boxes but that the men's boxes are often more attractive, more desirable, more varied vocationally, more prestigious and economically richer than the women's boxes. These boxes constitute the sex structure of Canadian society. The reason *why* this should be so is constantly challenged by those who perceive themselves as feminists. Anyone who views the world from a feminist perspective wishes to see this hierarchical arrangement between the sexes changed so that women have more access to the

rewards of power and prestige. Society must be changed so that women's accomplishments are valued equally with those of men.

**The Focus of This Book**

Like every other institution in Canadian society, sport reflects the sex structure described above. The problem manifests itself in differences in participation levels as well as in a lack of opportunities and rewards for females in amateur competition and professional sport. Women have been and continue to be discriminated against when they seek to take their rightful place in the sporting world. Why this happens, at least within the Canadian context, is the theme of this book. In Chapter 2, we examine the meaning of sex equality in sport and discuss the issues that surround this increasingly controversial topic. It is difficult to comprehend our current inequities unless we understand a little of our sporting heritage. This we outline briefly in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4 we seek to answer the question: Does equality exist, today in the 80s, for Canadian females in sport? Here we analyze the progress made during the last decade or two towards removing the institutional and legal barriers preventing females from participating fully in competitive and recreational sport. In Chapter 5, we discuss the remaining attitudinal barriers. Finally, in Chapter 6, we evaluate Canadian federal, provincial/territorial and private sector initiatives aimed at achieving sex equality. We conclude by showing how fundamental change cannot come from within sport alone; it can only be brought about when those who seek change recognize that this is a feminist issue and link their efforts to those of the women's movement in general.

FAIR BALL

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# WHAT EQUALITY MEANS

"Court denies girls right to play on boys' teams" announced a headline in the September 1, 1979 issue of *The Globe and Mail*. The story was about a three-year losing battle waged by the Ontario Human Rights Commission for the rights of Gail Cummings, a former hockey goaltender in Huntsville, and Debbie Bazso, a star softball player in Waterford, to play on all-star teams with boys. Although Boards of Inquiry had initially ruled in favour of each of the complainants, subsequent appeals to the Divisional Court by the respective provincial sport associations overturned both decisions. In each case, the Ontario Human Rights Commission

appealed the rulings to a higher court but both appeals were dismissed.

In a similar case in Nova Scotia, a Board of Inquiry decision went in favour of Tina Marie Forbes, who had been denied the right to compete as a member of the all-male Yarmouth Minor Hockey Association. Once again, the hockey association chose to appeal, but this time the initial appeal was dismissed and the Board of Inquiry ruling held. Françoise Turbide won her fight to play with boys when the Quebec Superior Court ruled that the *Fédération québécoise de hockey sur glace* had indeed discriminated against her. Later, we will examine the reasons why two decisions went against young girls wishing to play on boys' teams and two were in favour. The point here is that the courts are obviously having some difficulty in interpreting provincial human rights legislation in so far as it applies to sex discrimination in amateur sport. Could this be because the meaning of sex equality in sport is not adequately defined in our laws?

One purpose of this chapter is to outline our views on the meaning of sex equality in sport and to discuss the issues surrounding this topic, issues such as the sex integration of sports teams. Since the United States has special legislation to ensure sex equality in sport within their educational institutions, we will also examine the American experience in order to learn from the successes and failures of that system. We will also examine in detail the four human rights cases mentioned above.

## The Meaning of Sex Equality in Sport[1]

The word "equal" means having the *same* rights, privileges, ability, rank, etc., and "equality" is the "state of or instance of being equal". We assume, therefore, that the meaning of sex equality is that all persons should be treated the same. Equality in sport poses a special problem because males and females are physiologically different in ways that are relevant to their performance in sports. They are probably less different than first suspected (see Chapter 5), but nevertheless they are different.

For the purposes of discussion, let us define sex equality in sport as *equal opportunity* for sportswomen. In other words, females should have the same opportunities as males. There are at least three ways to interpret "equal opportunity". First, we could decide to ignore an ascribed characteristic such as sex. If we did this, women would in fact have even less opportunity to participate in sport, because we cannot obliterate sex differences in size and strength. A policy of nondiscrimination in sport, therefore, would actually decrease equal opportunity for females (except for prepubertal girls, who may be equal in size and strength to young boys).

Second, we could equate equal opportunity with an equal chance to participate. Everyone, male and female alike, has an equal right to what could be called the "basic benefits" of sports (e.g., health, fitness, fun, skill development). Therefore, equal opportunity exists in sport if everyone has an equal chance to play. If a girl is less adept than a boy at some

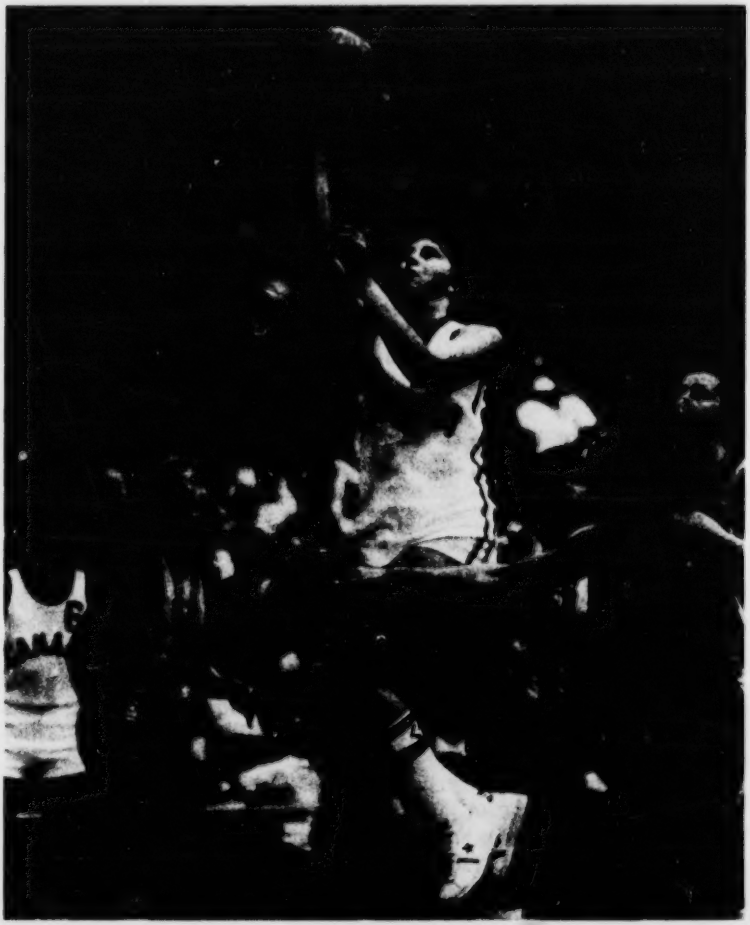
sport, such as wrestling, because she has never had an opportunity to learn, this is not sufficient reason to deny her these basic benefits by refusing to allow her to wrestle. Nonetheless, and particularly in a sport like wrestling, the very real problem of differing size and strength may still be present.

The third interpretation of equal opportunity is more complex: it calls for equal achievement for the "major social groups".[2] Therefore, women are said to have an equal opportunity to be doctors, for instance, when there are approximately the same numbers of female and male doctors in the population. However, this interpretation of equal opportunity is difficult to apply to sport. Is it unfair, for example, that far less than half of all professional basketball players are women? No, because physical differences prevent most women from playing top-level basketball with men; moreover, women do have their own professional league in which to play (we address the separate-but-equal doctrine in the next section). It is unfair, however, that women athletes do not have equal access to the "scarce benefits" of sport, which include such tangible aspects as salary and prize money and the less tangible aspects of status and publicity.

Unfortunately, equal opportunity in sport seems an elusive goal. While we can agree that everyone has an equal right to the basic benefits of sport, we are still faced with the problem of how to make certain that physically different individuals always have the same right to these advantages. Presumably we can also agree that women must have the same access to sport's scarce benefits, although we cannot expect to see equal numbers of women and men in all sports. Again, physical differences prevent this.

Many people believe that since equal opportunity does not seem to be entirely possible, what we really must settle for is *equity*, which has been defined as "fairness, impartiality, justice". What, then, is the fair and just way to treat physiologically different groups? One suggestion is to have individuals compete on the basis of some clear-cut physiological characteristic such as weight or age. This is done in boxing and wrestling, for instance, or in age-group hockey or swimming. However, sex is a frequent justification for establishing separate competition groups: the rationale is usually that females need protection due to their assumed physical inferiority. Females can sometimes move "up" to compete with males, but the reverse rarely happens, which may in itself seem discriminatory. Where sex is not relevant to performance, the sport probably could be integrated; often, unfortunately, this is not the case. As we better understand whether existing sex differences in performance are due to physiological characteristics or to cultural and social inequalities, more and more sports will become integrated. Therefore, although there is some justification for segregating teams and competitions on the basis of sex, there are some obvious difficulties. We pursue this further in the next section.

Another way to treat physiologically different groups in order to ensure equal opportunity or equity has been to group individuals by ability.



However, this is rarely done without the added classification of sex. Even if the principle were applied across the sexes, women would no doubt be relegated to the second- or third-string leagues because of a lack of ability due to differential socialization or perhaps to the same physical "disadvantages" discussed previously.

Where does this leave us? There is simply no way out of this problem unless sports suited to the female's distinctive abilities (for example, smaller size, flexibility, lower centre of gravity, better insulation) are considered absolutely equal to sports in which speed, size and strength are essential. Most women are at a physiological disadvantage when

participating in such sports. As long as our society believes that only such sports as football, basketball, baseball and ice hockey have spectator appeal, sex equality in sport is unattainable. If our primary emphasis is on participation, there is no justification for the "swifter, higher, stronger" ethos as the *only* conception of sport. The tremendous popular appeal of women's gymnastics and figure skating, and the inclusion of rhythmical gymnastics in the 1984 Olympics, are signs that our tastes in sport are broadening. As suggested in the introduction, sex equality in sport will have been reached only when women's sport is evaluated as something worthwhile *in its own right*, without the illegitimate and irrelevant comparisons to the qualitatively different sporting achievements of males.

In sum, it is not easy to answer the question: "What is the meaning of sex equality in sport?" Just asking the question poses more questions. The nature of sex equality in sport and the question of whether it can ever be achieved turn out to be difficult problems. We must even question whether or not equality itself is a good thing. We are certainly not suggesting the eradication of sex discrimination in sport by obliterating all sex differences. Clearly that is unwise if not impossible. Our view, as expressed by Jane English, is: "To the extent that equality is a good thing, what it calls for is justice rather than identical treatment. In this sense, the sexes could be 'equal' without becoming indistinguishable."[3]

**Separate-But-Equal Versus Integration**

The "separate-but-equal" doctrine in the sporting context has been justified on the basis that the interests of females cannot be served in any other way. It is argued that because males, on average, have the advantage in height, weight and strength, competition between the sexes is unfair to females. The problem with this argument is that it is not always true. For instance, there are virtually no physical differences between prepubertal girls and boys that would prevent them from competing together, even in contact sports; in fact, girls probably have the advantage because they mature slightly faster. Even the courts have recognized the fallacy of the physiological argument, as our analysis of several human rights cases will show. Those who would argue that it is best to keep young boys and girls playing separately must do so on so-called moral and social grounds.

Integration in sports competition should take place wherever sex is not relevant to performance, as in such sports as equestrianism, trap shooting, auto racing, or sky diving. In some sports, such as springboard diving, the differences between the sexes are so small that separate classes are hardly justifiable. Olympic gymnastics, on the other hand, is a good example of a fairly integrated sport where separate *events* for males and females are organized and accommodate their differences. The men employ the rings, highbar, pummel horse and parallel bars, and the women use the balance beam and uneven bars. There is very little difference in their vaults and each sex has influenced the other in the floor exercises.

In still other sports, the sexes have compensating differences that would allow for their integration. In marathon swimming, for instance, men usually have greater strength but women endure the cold better. (At this point we really do not know what women can endure, because they have not always been pushed to their limit.)

We are not arguing here that *all* sports for *all* age groups should eventually be integrated. After all, it has been argued that unequal attainments lead to a lessening of self-respect among all women, and women athletes have certainly had little access to the rewards of success in their field.[4] Maintaining segregated athletic competition in some sports could enable women athletes to become recognised as heroines in their own right and to receive an equal share of the rewards and benefits of success, something that would probably not happen if the sport were integrated.

More and more talented young female athletes are demanding the right to compete on boys' teams where there is no equivalent competition for girls. Integration is being resisted in such sports as minor hockey, although in fairness, the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association is encouraging the development of women's hockey.[5] Our position is that where females do not have the opportunity to participate in a particular sport except through an all-male team or league, they should be permitted to play with the male athletes if they have the necessary skills.

What then of the male who cannot make the boys' team? Should he be prohibited from trying out for the girls' team? In our view, yes. We argue this on the basis that it is the "disadvantaged" individual who should be allowed to move "up" and the "advantaged" should not be allowed to move "down". In sports where divisions are based on weight, for instance, it is always possible to move up and box, wrestle or whatever in the next weight category, but it is impossible to move down to a lower one without losing weight. As more and more sports become integrated, including the "contact" sports, factors other than sex, such as weight, size and ability will become the criteria for participation.

Finally, we would add the caveat that common sense must prevail. Obviously as boys and girls mature, the strength factor becomes more important even if height and weight remain the same. Therefore, we cannot insist on totally integrated sports competition, because if we did, it would have the unfortunate effect of producing predominantly male teams. This would further perpetuate a lack of opportunity for adequate participation by women. The answer has been to provide the same number of opportunities for males and females although the sports available may vary. We could then say that the opportunities are *comparable*.

Difficulties do sometimes arise, however, with this approach. For instance, at the college level, women compete in field hockey and men play football. Unfortunately, the two sports are not valued equally: more time, effort and money are poured into the men's football team than are ever devoted to the women's field hockey team. Women athletes are denied equal access to scarce resources, and this we find unacceptable.

**The United States Experience**

Bonnie Parkhouse and Jackie Lapin in their book *Women Who Win: Exercising Your Rights in Sport* point out that the greatest sports battle of the century has not been fought on the gridiron or in the ring or on any playing field, for that matter, but in the United States Congress, in the courts and in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).[6] The fight has been over Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 affecting education:

> *No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.*

While the scope of Title IX is broad, much of the reaction and inevitable backlash have centred around physical education and athletics. The controversy prompted a former HEW Secretary to comment: "I had not realized . . . that athletics is the single most important thing in the United States". As it took some time to detail the Title IX regulations, they became effective in July 1975. High schools and colleges were given three more years to comply before risking the loss of federal grants and subsidies. In order to clarify the regulations as they affect athletics, guidelines have been issued that spell out the obligations of institutions to provide equal opportunity (in the sense of equity) to both sexes interested in participating in athletic programs (interscholastic, intercollegiate, intramural, and club) and in the provision of athletic scholarships.[7] HEW further clarified the regulations pertaining specifically to intercollegiate athletics in a "policy interpretation" published in 1979.[8]

What has all the fuss been about? Title IX has provoked a seemingly never-ending debate over issues that are unlikely to receive a hearing in Canada because we have no similar legislation: integrated versus single-sex physical education classes and athletic teams; unequal expenditures; differences in regulations; recruiting procedures and practices; equality of access to teaching, coaching and administrative positions; merged versus separate structures; funding and salaries; athletic scholarships; and most important of all, differences in the philosophical beliefs of male and female athletic administrators and coaches.

Title IX is designed to prevent sex discrimination against students and employees in federally funded education programs. It applies to all aspects of the athletic program, even if activities are partially funded by non-federal sources. The factors commonly used to determine whether comparable opportunities exist for males and females are:

- Whether the selection of sports and levels of competition effectively accommodate the interests and activities of members of both sexes;
- the provision of equipment and supplies;
- scheduling of games and practice time;
- travel and per diem allowances;

- opportunity to receive coaching and academic tutoring;
- assignment and compensation of coaches and tutors;
- provision of locker rooms, practice and competitive facilities;
- provision of medical and training facilities and services;
- provision of housing and dining facilities and services;
- publicity.

There are additional legal vehicles in the United States that women in sport can use to further their rights, all of which have been detailed elsewhere.[9]

Is Title IX a successful piece of legislation? The answer to this depends, of course, on whom you ask. Its critics claim that the regulations are vague, ambiguous, and difficult to interpret in specific circumstances. Many resent the fact that since no federal funds are available to support improved women's sports programs, the money must come from the men's budget. Indeed, there has been a backlash to Title IX and it is not a pleasant story.[10]

First, the law has often been distorted and misrepresented. For instance, separate athletic departments have been unnecessarily forced to merge and athletic directors have been told to provide equal rather than comparable budgets for both sexes.

Second, a very bitter power struggle for the control of women's athletics at the university level has developed between the National Collegiate Athletic Association (which controls men's athletics) and the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women. Clearly the NCAA wishes to take financial advantage of the mandated growth in women's intercollegiate sport, specifically through increased gate receipts and television revenue. Knowledgeable sources predict that the AIAW will soon succumb.

Third, the merging of many men's and women's athletic departments has had an adverse effect on women's programs. In 1973, before Title IX became law, the ratio of administrators who represented women's programs was 80 per cent female and 20 per cent male; now less than 50 per cent are female. Similarly, male and female teams are often combined under one coach, usually male. Since coaches of women's teams are now paid equally, available coaching jobs are frequently taken by men. These factors are responsible for a *decline* in the number of women coaches at the school and college level rather than the expected increase.

Finally, there are an increasing number of incidences which appear to limit opportunities for *both* sexes apparently in the name of equality: for instance, boys' wrestling teams have been eliminated because girls do not wish to wrestle; scholarships are only awarded to women in the same sports as men, thus eliminating participants in field hockey and volleyball, two of the most popular sports for women at the university level; and in a few isolated cases, males not skilled enough for the boys' team have been allowed to play on the girls' team.

Despite all the problems, many argue that the benefits of Title IX outweigh the disadvantages. Girls and women are now competing under the same conditions as their male counterparts have for years, with proper coaching, decent transportation, uniforms and equipment, training and medical services, travel opportunities, facilities, scholarships and awards, media recognition, and so forth. Many of Title IX's benefits are intangible. For example, female athletes have more and more role models to emulate. Better trained women coaches and athletic administrators will emerge from this new wave of female competitors. Women athletes are gaining support for their endeavours and the recognition for their achievements denied them for so long. Unfortunately, as Canadians we do not have a good vantage point from which to view the American scene, so it is difficult to judge the merits of the legislation.

Moreover, there is little in the Canadian context that is comparable to the American experience. We do not have a Title IX 'vehicle' or the legislative mechanisms to put it in place. Even if we did, it would not have the same effect. Athletics are not as integral to our educational system as they are in the United States. The highly professional and commercialized men's sports programs of American colleges do not exist in Canada. The athletic scholarships that are just beginning to appear in Canadian universities have many regulations making them totally unlike those offered in American universities. We do not put the same emphasis on sport in our elementary and secondary schools. Finally, educational institutions in Canada do not receive federal monies directly because grants for education are administered by the provincial/territorial governments.

Nonetheless, there is much we can learn from the American experience. The first is that legislation of this nature can have both intentional and unexpected consequences. The intention was to create an equal opportunity for girls and young women to participate in all sports at all levels. There is some evidence that this has happened, at least to some degree. The unforeseen consequence was the seemingly endless and damaging backlash. In addition, the actual handling of the cases where institutions refuse to comply with the Title IX regulations has posed several problems. In the first place, legal action must be initiated by a complaint from an individual or group of individuals. If the charges are upheld, and the institution still refuses to remedy its discriminatory practices, the complaint is likely to be referred to a higher authority rather than having the immediate effect of cutting off the institution's federal grants. To our knowledge, at the date of writing, no individual has yet successfully brought suit under this ruling against an institution. In fairness, we should note that many institutions have complied voluntarily with the Title IX guidelines, which is precisely what was intended. Whether the legislation is sufficiently powerful to stir the recalcitrant few is still to be determined. Finally, there is no question that Title IX is having a "positive and rational" effect on men's athletics, particularly at the college and university levels, because many of the excesses are being trimmed in order to support an increased women's athletic program.

We now return to the Canadian scene and examine the effectiveness of our human rights legislation, both provincial and federal, in the elimination of sex discrimination in sport.

### The Efficacy of Canadian Human Rights Legislation

Both provincial and federal human rights laws provide statutory protection from discrimination. Canadians are protected from discrimination on the basis of sex, race, colour, age, religious beliefs, country of origin, ancestry, marital status and sometimes physical disability, sexual orientation and political beliefs, in employment, accommodation and services or facilities customarily available to the public. In the late 1970s, sport-related complaints of sex discrimination began to come to the attention of provincial human rights commissions. Some have accepted these complaints, others have not. The majority of cases involve young girls wishing to play on all-male ice-hockey, soccer or softball teams, usually at the all-star level. This is nothing new. In 1956, nine-year-old Abigail Hoffman, who went on to become a four-time Olympian and Director of Sport Canada, played defence for the Ste. Catharines Tee Pee hockey team. She made it halfway through the season before they realized she was a girl. Even though she was good enough to be on the all-star team, she was barred. Had there been a human rights commission in those days, no doubt Abby's parents would have complained to them. We might even have seen more progress toward sex equality in sport during the last twenty-five years. But social reform comes slowly. Can it be accomplished through a legal remedy? Some human rights commissions do not consider sport and recreation within their jurisdiction. In provinces where cases have gone through the full judicial process, the merits of the case are often lost in the legal wranglings over interpretation of the law. We intend to examine in detail the arguments, pro and con, that have come forward in sport-related cases, because they tell us a good deal about deeply rooted attitudes towards the participation of girls and women in sport. We examine four cases that have now been resolved.

#### *Bannerman vs the Ontario Rural Softball Association*

In the summer of 1976, Bruce Bannerman, manager of the Waterford Squirt All-Star Softball team, registered his team with the Ontario Rural Softball Association (O.R.S.A.). One of the players was Debbie Bazso, nine years old. The Association returned Debbie's application and her 50-cent registration fee with the comment "cannot play". Bruce Bannerman complained in writing to the president of the O.R.S.A. that its constitution did not prohibit girls from playing. The association responded:

> *The Board of the O.R.S.A. is the only ball organization that supplies both girls ball and boys ball to rural areas of Ontario and as there is an age group for girls and one for boys no girls are allowed to play with boys teams in our league or any other organized league that is a member of the Ontario Softball Council.*[11]

Despite the O.R.S.A. objection, Mr. Bannerman took his team, including Debbie Bazso, to the first playdowns against a team from Caledonia. A protest was lodged by the Caledonia team on the grounds that Waterford was using an unsigned player not qualified to play because of her sex. The O.R.S.A. disqualified the Waterford team from further competition. Interestingly enough, the protest was lodged by the coach of the Caledonia team, a female. Subsequently, Mr. Bannerman filed a complaint, on behalf of Debbie Bazso, with the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

The case, from the Commission's viewpoint, presented clear and compelling evidence of sex discrimination. It had accepted the complaint on the basis of what was believed to have been a denial, on the grounds of sex, of "services and facilities available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted". Following the investigation, a settlement could not be reached, so a Board of Inquiry was established with Professor Sidney N. Lederman of the Osgoode Hall Law School as chairman. The interesting aspect of this case, and others like it, was the principal legal question being addressed. It was not whether a girl should be allowed to play on a boys' sports team but whether an amateur sports organization, like the Ontario Rural Softball Association, fell within the definition of public services and facilities in provincial human rights legislation. The O.R.S.A. contended, among other things, that it was sufficiently "private" and did not have to abide by this provision. Professor Lederman found, however, that it did. "The public nature of the services", he stated, "is further emphasized by the fact that the O.R.S.A. receives government funding for its work and that the Regional Municipalities make available public facilities for the O.R.S.A. playdowns."[12]

Two other fundamental issues were raised by this case. The O.R.S.A., in defense of its action, claimed that integrated softball would provide occasions for a breach of bodily privacy. Again the Board of Inquiry disagreed, since changing of clothing for play invariably took place at home and the children were driven to and from the games in their baseball attire. In the event a mixed team wished to avail itself of a locker room for dressing and showering, the Board found no reason why the boys and girls could not dress and shower sequentially, thereby avoiding any risk of bodily exposure of one sex to the other.

The second issue centered around the question of whether separate but equal athletic programs were justifiable. The O.R.S.A. claimed, of course, that they were, and stated further that fairness of competition would be effectively destroyed if mixed competition were permitted at all age levels. However, in this case, Professor Lederman found that although separate but equal athletic programs may afford some advantages, they also tend to hold back the very able and qualified females from competing at the upper level of a particular sport where no equivalent girls' team is available. He concluded further that unless the Ontario legislature enacts a statutory exception to their Human Rights Code, "there does not appear to be any justification at law presently for conducting such programmes".

The decision of the Board of Inquiry was to order the Ontario Rural Softball Association to cease holding sex-segregated divisional softball playoffs for children eleven years and under. The Board reserved judgment on whether championship series at the higher age levels should be desegregated as well.

The O.R.S.A. appealed this decision to the Supreme Court of Ontario Divisional Court, which heard the case in June 1978, two years after Bruce Bannerman had filed his complaint with the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The court allowed the appeal and overturned the decision of the Board of Inquiry on the grounds that the association, which was established to provide an organized system of softball playoffs among Ontario communities, offered a facility open to teams composed of either boys or girls, but did not offer a facility for integrated softball. "An integrated team was not eligible to take advantage of or to utilize the facility made accessible by the association", the decision stated. The court therefore decided that the refusal to grant Debbie Baszo a playing card did not contravene the Ontario Human Rights Code.

The Ontario Human Rights Commission appealed the ruling, and the case was heard by the Supreme Court of Ontario Court of Appeal one year later. The court was split, two to one, in the decision. In one majority decision, the judge argued that the appeal should be dismissed. He stated:

> *The* ***Code*** *differs from most other statutes which have a similar purpose in that it refers to accommodation, services or facilities "available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted" instead of to accommodation, services and facilities "which are available to the public"; that is, the place where the services are made available is described rather than the recipient of the services. . . . There will be no offence committed if the accommodation, service or facility is so described that . . . it is made to a limited class of persons. . . . Where, as here, there is a manifest attempt (of the association) to achieve fairness in competition among teams in the series and where, to achieve this end, some discrimination because of sex is inevitable, I do not think it is an offence if sex is merely one of the general criteria for dividing players amongst the several series. The real reason for the separation of boys and girls is overall fairness. It is not sufficient to show that in a particular case sex is not a relevant criterion.*[13]

In the second majority decision, another judge argued that the appeal should be dismissed on the simple ground that the activities carried out by the O.R.S.A. were not "services and facilities" within the meaning of the Human Rights Code. "If it was intended to apply the Code to the activities of bodies such as the O.R.S.A.," he argued, "I think that the legislation should do so in clear unequivocal language." He was unable to find such language.

Finally, in her minority decision, the third judge disagreed with the position of the lower court in overturning the decision of the Board of Inquiry. Her reasons were:

> *With respect, I do not think it was open to the learned Chief Justice to read words into the section. The legislature did not limit the "accommodation,*

*services or facilities" covered by the section to those which are "available to the public". Availability to the public is relevant under the section only with regard to the place in which services or facilities are being provided. I think therefore that the learned Chief Justice may have erred when he concluded that the place for the activity as carried on is not the dominant factor but rather "the service or facility available".*

*I have concluded that section 2 of* ***The Ontario Human Rights Code*** *by its terms covers any and all "accommodation, services or facilities" subject to the one qualification that they be "available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted". . . . The effect of our section, in other words, appears to be to* ***ban discrimination in public places****. . . . It seems to me that the services (of the O.R.S.A.) are being made available in a place to which the public is customarily admitted.*

*I may say that a study of the Constitution and By-laws of the O.R.S.A. fails to disclose any basis of selection for participation in the play-offs (other than age, skill at the game, etc.) which would put the O.R.S.A. in the "private club" category nor was any put forward in argument in the appeal. Indeed, there is no suggestion that Debbie Bazso did not meet all the other tests of eligibility for the play-offs. Her case seems to me therefore to be on exactly the same footing under the section as the case of a boy denied registration by the O.R.S.A. because he is black.*[14]

Obviously the majority decision was upheld and the appeal was dismissed. In the final chapter of this case, the Ontario Human Rights Commission tried to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court of Canada, but the application was denied.

### *Cummings vs the Ontario Minor Hockey Association*

In response to an advertisement in the local newspaper, ten-year-old Gail Cummings applied to join the Huntsville Minor Hockey Association in October 1976 and was accepted. A short time afterward, Gail tried out for the under-eleven Huntsville All-Star team. She attended the practices and was selected as one of three goalies, the only girl on the team.

A month later, after Gail had played in four games, Gail's mother was informed that the Ontario Minor Hockey Association (O.M.H.A.) would not accept Gail's registration because its constitution forbade girls to play on teams under its jurisdiction. Specifically, the O.M.H.A. is governed by the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association regulations, which restrict membership to "every male person". Mrs. Cummings was advised that Gail should play on the local girls' team even though the age range of players on the team was from thirteen to seventeen years and Gail was only ten. Gail stopped playing for the all-star team and returned to mixed house league competition (not under O.M.H.A. jurisdiction) where she had played previously. Subsequently, Mrs. Cummings lodged a complaint, on behalf of her daughter Gail, with the Ontario Human Rights Commission. As occurred with the previously-mentioned case, the dispute could not be resolved at the Commission level and so a Board of Inquiry was again established, this time chaired by Professor Mary Eberts of the University of Toronto Law School. She too found that Gail was denied a service or facility on account of her sex when she was

declared ineligible to continue playing on the Huntsville All-Star team. The O.M.H.A. was not a private organization, she concluded, as its activities fell within the definition of "services and facilities" of the Human Rights Code.

The O.M.H.A. had also argued that it was exempted from the controversial section of the Code on the grounds of public decency. The association claimed that the pile-ups and physical contact characteristic of hockey could constitute an "invasion of bodily privacy" if girls were allowed to play with boys. Again the question of the dressing room was raised, but in Gail's case, she dressed at home or in the women's washroom and entered the boys' dressing room only five or ten minutes before a game for the coach's last-minute instructions.

The O.M.H.A. had made no effort to argue that its exclusion of girls was based on physiological grounds that merited an exemption from the Code. Obviously no one could argue that the physical differences between boys and girls at the age of eleven were so marked that playing hockey together would be harmful or would eliminate opportunities for enjoyable and effective competition. Rather, the public decency arguments presented by the O.M.H.A. were based on the moral and social implications of mixed hockey: the harm done to boys from losing to girls, the possibility that boys would play "softer" when playing with girls, and the danger to future family stability if boys learned in hockey to roughhouse with girls instead of treating them with respect.[15] Professor Eberts could find no evidence that an exemption on the grounds of public decency was acceptable.

The Board of Inquiry ordered the O.M.H.A. to invite Gail to try out for the Huntsville All-Star team, and that she be accepted providing she was good enough. The association was also ordered to accept for registration any able and competent female player.

The O.M.H.A. appealed this decision to the Supreme Court of Ontario Divisional Court, which heard the case in June 1978. The court allowed the appeal and set aside the ruling of the Board of Inquiry. The decision stated:

> *If the accommodation, services or facilities are not* ***available to the public*** *in the sense that they are not open to the public generally, although provided in a place to which the public is customarily admitted, then they fall outside the ambit of the Code. . . . In my view, Professor Eberts erred in concluding that the facilities of the O.M.H.A. were open to the public. Whatever service the O.M.H.A. renders in operating conditions, conducting referee and coaching clinics is not a service extended to the public, but a service extended to the advantage of boys who fall within the age category of those groups which they supervise. The fact that the competitions are held in arenas that are publicly owned or to which the public are admitted does not, in my view, make the service rendered by the O.M.H.A. a service to the public. . . . I am not satisfied that the provision of a benefit for boys is necessarily and, in all cases, discrimination against girls.*[16]

In sum, the Divisional Court held that the O.M.H.A., as a private organization promoting hockey for boys within certain age groups, was

not as such a "service" available to the public in the sense contemplated by the Ontario Human Rights Code. It further noted that the O.M.H.A. was not opposed to hockey for girls, or to integrated competition for that matter, but felt that it was not its responsibility to develop such programs.

As with the earlier case, the Ontario Human Rights Commission decided it must appeal the decision of the Divisional Court. The Supreme Court of Ontario Court of Appeal heard the case in May 1979, two and a half years after Mrs. Cummings had filed her complaint. The court ruled that no offence had been, or could be, committed by the O.M.H.A. because it was not a "person" within the meaning of the Code. Unlike the Ontario Rural Softball Association, the O.M.H.A. was *unincorporated*, and therefore not a separate entity. Accordingly, the appeal was dismissed on technical grounds. For her part, Gail Cummings, an all-round athlete who ran, skated and played lacrosse as well, earned a spot on the Huntsville All-Star lacrosse team. What is so ironic is that some consider lacrosse a more dangerous sport than ice hockey.

***Forbes vs the Yarmouth Minor Hockey Association***

Tina Marie Forbes was an eleven-year-old girl in Hebron, Nova Scotia who liked to play hockey. In the fall of 1977, Tina's father tried to register her with the Yarmouth Minor Hockey Association (Y.M.H.A.) so she could play in house league hockey. After repeated attempts, each time being told Tina could not play because she was a girl, Mr. Forbes took his problem to the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission. Once again, no settlement was reached and the case went before a Board of Inquiry.

Judge R.E. Kimball, who chaired the Board of Inquiry, found that Tina had indeed been discriminated against because of her sex and ordered the Y.M.H.A. to process her application. The Y.M.H.A. was an unincorporated body with no written constitution, by-laws, rules or regulations and therefore had not met the membership qualifications of the Nova Scotia Minor Hockey Council, which purported to prohibit the registration of females. Even if the Y.M.H.A. were a member of this Council it was still not bound by the rules of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, which prohibit girls from playing, because C.A.H.A. regulations do not extend to local hockey competitions such as the house league in which Tina Forbes wished to play. The judge did admit, however, that there would have been a problem had she wished to play in all-star, inter-zone or inter-provincial hockey, all of which do come under the jurisdiction of the C.A.H.A.

An interesting point about this particular case is that Judge Kimball almost took for granted that the services and facilities provided by the Y.M.H.A. were those customarily provided to members of the public. This, of course, was the central legal question in the Bannerman and Cummings cases. In his opinion, "the raising of money from the public by any minor hockey Association carries with it a strong inference and obligation that the money will be used by that Association for public purposes, i.e., for services and facilities such as are customarily provided

to and for hockey players, without any restriction."[17] The Y.M.H.A., he concluded, was *not* a private association established and operated to promote hockey exclusively for boys.

After several resignations within the executive ranks of the Y.M.H.A. and a suspension by the Nova Scotia Minor Hockey Council, the Y.M.H.A. decided to appeal the decision to the Nova Scotia Supreme Court. Six months later their appeal was dismissed on the grounds that they had not proceeded with the appeal within the required four months of filing the notice.

**Turbide vs the Fédération québécoise de hockey sur glace**

Françoise Turbide, who participated in the ice hockey program of the MacDonald Athletic Club in Montreal, was told three weeks after she had begun practising and playing with the "Bantam" team (aged thirteen to fourteen years) that she was no longer welcome simply because she was a girl. Her team had been told by officials in the *Fédération québécoise de hockey sur glace* that if they continued to allow her to play, the team would forfeit all games in which she participated. Her team was very upset by the decision, since Françoise had played the previous two years in the league and in fact had been chosen to play goalie for the "Pee Wee" (aged eleven to twelve years) all-star team. And so, Françoise sat out the 1976-77 hockey season. The following year she was again denied the opportunity to play and her father, Henri, complained to the *Commission des droits de la personne du Québec*.

The Commission took the case to the Quebec Superior Court seeking an immediate injunction against the minor hockey league that would allow Françoise to play at least until the case went to court. Unfortunately, the judge who considered the matter decided that the Commission had not shown sufficient urgency, and Françoise sat out yet another season. The case was finally heard and settled in November 1978.

As in all the other hockey cases, the respondents claimed that they were subject to the regulations of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, which restrict hockey to boys only. Judge Perry Meyer found, however, that there was no regulation *expressly prohibiting the participation of females* in the constitution of either the *Fédération québécoise de hockey sur glace* or the *Ligues de hockey mineur Notre-Dame-de-Grâce*.[18] Judge Meyer also found that the Quebec human rights legislation was much broader and more precise concerning the protection of certain rights. Specifically, he found that the "services and facilities ordinarily available to the public" clause, which had been so problematic in the Bannerman and Cummings cases, could be interpreted broadly enough to include the activities of hockey leagues.

The respondents had also argued that in the interests of hockey, separate leagues for boys and girls should be established. Judge Meyer argued that it was incumbent upon the respondents to show that "separate but equal" hockey programs exist for girls in Quebec. This they could not do. On the contrary, it was shown that few hockey teams existed for

girls. Therefore, Judge Meyer argued that since Françoise Turbide had shown that she was very capable of playing on an all-boys' team, and that no other opportunity existed for her to play, the "separate but equal" philosophy must be set aside for the time being. The only way to avoid discriminating against these exceptional girls, he argued, was to consider them on the same level as boys. He admitted, however, that if truly equal opportunities existed for girls to play hockey in Quebec, or if it had been shown that it was the objective of the respondents to promote the sport only for boys, the case would have been entirely different and the judgment possibly not the same.

Judge Meyer ruled that neither the *Ligues de hockey mineur Notre-Dame-de-Grâce* nor the *Fédération québécoise de hockey sur glace* could prohibit girls from playing in leagues governed by them; that Françoise Turbide should be allowed to play for the MacDonald Athletic Club in the 1978-79 season, and that the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association ruling prohibiting girls from playing would no longer affect residents of Quebec.

**Summary**

The number of sport-related complaints brought before provincial human rights commissions now totals nearly fifty. They range from young girls complaining of being forbidden to play on all-star teams to women objecting to restricted hours at private golf clubs and curling clubs to a senior high school student wishing to train with the boys' wrestling team in order to improve her judo skills.

Recently, the Canadian Human Rights Commission (established in 1978) has begun to examine whether it has jurisdiction over national sports governing associations. For instance, the Commission has made a concerted though unsuccessful effort to convince the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association to remove its restriction against female members. Following a recent complaint by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the Commission is also studying the case of a sixteen-year-old Danish soccer player who was refused permission to compete in an international youth soccer tournament held in Toronto because she was a girl.

Has anything been accomplished by what now amounts to considerable litigation? Perhaps these cases are useful more because they draw attention to the issues surrounding sex discrimination in amateur sport than because they assist in promoting justice. Most of the complaints have been submitted because no opportunities existed for very talented young female athletes to play the team sport of their choice. They therefore seek to play on a boys' team. In many cases they have been playing on the boys' team without controversy for some time. Their participation becomes an issue only when they wish to play on a team under the jurisdiction of a provincial or national sports governing organization that restricts its membership to males.

The associations have argued that they are private organizations and that they do not have to abide by human rights legislation designed to protect us against discrimination in those facilities and services considered public. By and large, at least the higher courts have agreed and have refused to consider a wider interpretation of the words "services and facilities" which would include sports organizations. Further litigation might change their minds but it seems unlikely.

During some of the legal hearings, the respondents argued that if the legislation were meant to prohibit sex discrimination by amateur sport associations, such a prohibition would have been made *explicit*. Another way in which legislation can protect such associations is by providing them with an *exemption*. Unfortunately, this is precisely what was done in Great Britain and Australia. For instance, the terms of the British *Sex Discrimination Act* make it unlawful to discriminate "on grounds of sex in employment in sport, or training facilities offered, or in the general sporting facilities available".[19] Written into the Act, however, are two important qualifications. First, sex-segregated competition where "the physical strength, stamina or physique puts the average woman at a disadvantage to the average man" does not contravene the Act and is within the law. Second, non-profit, private, voluntary organizations can legally restrict their membership and facilities to one sex. These exceptions, according to the Equal Opportunities Commission, "seriously hamper our attempts to counter sex discrimination in sport".[20] As a result of similar exemptions in Australian anti-discrimination legislation, the Australian Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation is seeking to have the legislation amended.[21] In the United States Congress, an

omnibus "Family Protection Act" has been introduced recently that would "limit or prohibit the intermingling of the sexes in any sport or other school-related activity".[22]

On a more positive note, representation was made to the Ontario government during their 1981 revision of the Human Rights Code, in which the following clause was suggested:

> *Every person has the right to equal treatment and the enjoyment of membership and participation in any athletic organization or event which receives public funds or uses public facilities, without discrimination because of sex.*[23]

Such a provision would allow sports governing bodies, for instance, to practice sex discrimination as private organizations if they so wished, but they would have to do so without public funding and in private facilities. It is the view of the sponsors of this recommendation that it would pertain to more than 90 per cent of all amateur sporting activities in Ontario, including those taking place in schools or in other public facilities.

Unfortunately, the Ontario government rejected this particular advice and elected instead to include a specific amendment which permits differential treatment with respect to services and facilities on the basis of sex. According to the Human Rights Code, 1981:

> *19.(2) The right under section 1 to equal treatment with respect to services and facilities is not infringed where membership in an athletic organization or participation in an athletic activity is restricted to persons of the same sex.*
>
> *(3) The right under section 1 to equal treatment with respect to services and facilities is not infringed where a recreational club restricts or gives preference with respect to membership dues and other fees because of age, sex, marital status or family status.*[24]

We hope that other Canadian jurisdictions will not follow this retrogressive step by deciding to amend their human rights legislations to include similar exceptions.

It is possible that the existing federal legislation could be applied more effectively. Section 19 of the Canadian Human Rights Act states:

> *The Governor-in-Council may make regulations respecting the terms and conditions to be included in or applicable to any contract, licence or grant made or granted by Her Majesty in right of Canada providing for*
>
> *(a) the prohibition of discriminatory practices described in sections 5 to 13, and*
>
> *(b) the resolution, by the procedure set out in Part III, of the complaints of discriminatory practices contrary to such terms and conditions.*

In other words, this section gives the federal government the right to include prohibitions against discrimination in any financial arrangement made with a sports organization. To our knowledge, the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch has never put any clauses in their funding agreements with sports governing bodies and other associations stating that money would not be provided if, for example, equal numbers of females and males were not participating or that women were not represented at the leadership levels in proportion to their numbers as participants. We

believe that Section 19 of the federal human rights legislation might be a mechanism allowing such a move and ought to be investigated further.

The main value of human rights cases, in our opinion, is to bring public interest, concern and pressure to bear on eliminating unequal, sex-discriminatory sport and recreation programs. Many parents and coaches no longer blithely accept the lack of sport opportunities for their daughters. More importantly, sport and recreation agencies and organizations, most of whom are dependent on public facilities and funds, can no longer sustain the argument that they have no moral or legal obligation to provide equal opportunities for both sexes.

Admittedly, some consider these complaints and the ensuing litigation foolish and trivial, not warranting public time and expense. This ambivalence towards the worth of women's sport is often shared by women and men alike. It demands a reconsideration of societal attitudes perhaps best summed up by a male hockey official who, when asked what harm a girl would do by playing on the all-star team, stated emotionally: "I don't know. It's my personal opinion. I feel it in my heart. I don't believe it's appropriate and I don't feel it will do society any good".[25]

In a later chapter, we examine the attitudinal barriers to sex equality in sport. Social reform by legal remedies alone will simply not work, especially when the law is in conflict with deeply rooted social attitudes and long-followed practices. We submit, however, that a forensic approach to achieving sex equality in sport has a good deal of merit, despite the difficulties, providing that it is used in concert with attempts to change old attitudes and develop new models.

We hope you can now appreciate the complexity of the issues surrounding any attempt to come to grips with the problem of sex equality in sport. It is not an easy task, although an essential one. Since it is important to understand the historical underpinnings of the current lack of equality in this sphere, we take a brief look at our sporting heritage in the next chapter.

# 3

# OUR SPORTING HERITAGE

Canadian sport has seen a dramatic transformation over the last two hundred years. Its roots stem from the early recreational activities and amusements of the frontier and rural areas as well as the sporting clubs of the urban elite and military garrisons. In those days, sport was exceedingly unorganized and class-bound. Today sport is highly organized, regulated, extraordinarily pervasive and somewhat more egalitarian. In fact, it is so much a part of our culture, we sometimes take it for granted.

## The Early Years

The involvement of Canadian women in sport was very spasmodic until the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Men

could indulge in horseracing, fishing, hunting and cricket, but in none of these were women welcome; nor did they clamour to participate, since the conventions of the times defined such activities as quite improper and unladylike. The problem in the mid-nineteenth century was the dearth of sports considered suitable for women, either because of their presumed physical limitations or due to the constraints of Victorian corsets and crinolines. Occasionally the bonds of tradition were ignored, but such incidents were most unusual. One such event occurred at a regatta in Collingwood, Ontario. The year was 1858:

> *. . . there was a surprise appearance of two pairs of young ladies in separate boats. They were neatly attired in white and without hats or bonnets. With arms bared, the two doubles awaited the starting signal, then vigorously stroked to fame and fortune of $25.*[1]

In the 1860s and 70s, activities such as fox-hunting, tobogganing, ice-skating, croquet and roller-skating attracted increasing numbers of female participants. The advent of covered rinks, the appeal of fashionable riding habits, the popularity of the newly invented roller-skate, and the courting value of the genteel game of croquet – all contributed to making sport, albeit limited and somewhat passive, stylish for women. Choice of activity was still severely restricted by both clothing and custom, however, and it was not until the closing months of this era that there was any publicly documented indication of the revolution in women's sport that was to come. In October of 1879 the following announcement appeared in the *Prescott Telegraph:*

> *There are six young ladies in the city of Ottawa, at present all unknown to fame, who are desirous of acquiring a reputation as athletes, and one of them has written to us to say that they are willing to challenge any six young ladies in this town to a game of* ***football****, for a silver cup. We give their request publicity, but do not think there are any young ladies in Prescott who are ambitious to become champion kickers.*[2]

### The Emergence of the "New Woman"

In the 1880s and 90s, women became much more overtly concerned with their rights, their education, and their health. The women's suffrage movement was gaining impetus, and flourishing organizations channelled women's energies into lobbying for reform in family, property, and labour laws.[3] The Women's Christian Temperance Union (founded 1883), the National Council of Women (1893), and the Women's Institutes (1897) provided excellent opportunities for women to learn organizational skills, to work collectively to achieve a goal, and to enjoy a level of independence not considered appropriate just a few years earlier. Not surprisingly, these experiences were matched by a dramatically increased interest in activities that gave women greater freedom of movement, promoted both teamwork and competition, and contributed to their physical well-being.

If there was one factor which could be linked to the emancipation of women in sport during this era, it was the safety bicycle. It not only caused a revolution in women's fashions but was also a 'vehicle' through

which women broke with tradition and asserted their independence. As the Toronto *Globe* pointed out, "one bicyclist wearing an advanced costume does more towards furthering dress reform than a score of theorists, writers, and lecturers". The days of hoops, crinolines, and voluminous skirts were over. Women's sportswear was finally being designed to accommodate more vigorous activity, and the bicycle skirt, bloomers and golf suit became fashionable.

Paralleling the growth of women's organizations came the establishment of many more sports clubs and tournaments for women. However, membership and participation were still limited predominately to the young, the middle and upper classes, and those living in the major urban centres. Interestingly, some of the women's groups saw this limitation as reason for concern and spoke up about the problem. The National Council of Women took up the cause, declaring: "To the young, the strong, and the rich, the choice is wide and varied; but to the poor, the busy, and the woman who is no longer young, the problem of athletics on ever so modest a scale is a difficult one".[4] Increasingly, however, the introduction of calisthenics and limited forms of gymnastics into the school curriculum and the plethora of articles, reports, lectures and demonstrations about physical culture for women generated much greater public acceptance and even enthusiasm about the value of exercise for the so-called "weaker sex".

**Consolidating the Initial Gains**

Throughout the early 1900s, the "modern" woman ventured into most forms of sport. The only activities that remained strictly forbidden were those where body contact was possible. Predictably, in those sports where a significant influx of women seemed imminent, the men made rules to prevent it. Women could compete so long as they did so with their own kind. In 1914, the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union was resolute in its determination to prevent women from competing or giving athletic exhibitions in games or meets where men or boys were entered. But despite the voices of protest from medical authorities, less liberal-minded women, and of course, the male sporting fraternity, the modern sportswoman had become a reality by World War I. The mushrooming of clubs, organizations, unions and leagues demonstrated that women were seeking greater control over their athletic activities. Yet, real power remained as elusive as ever; most facilities were controlled by men's clubs and organizations. Women members, although usually welcome, had little control over the policies affecting them.[5]

Although wide-scale mobilization of the civilian population in the United Kingdom during the Great War (1914-1918) enabled large numbers of British women to enter occupations or engage in activities previously closed to them because of their sex, Canadian women did not experience the same magnitude of freedom. Certainly there was a growing labour shortage as the war dragged on and eventually women were recruited to resolve the problem. But, for those not inclined or obliged to

work, supporting the war effort essentially meant maintaining the home front. Since the non-working women generally had the leisure time and inclination to participate in sport, their involvement became almost a patriotic duty. Local tennis and golf tournaments, and occasionally swimming exhibitions, were sponsored in aid of the Red Cross or war orphans. Although most national and provincial championships were cancelled for the duration of the hostilities, a few international matches went ahead and contributed to the war effort. Rather than showing a marked decline due to the war, women's sports continued to flourish and in some ways benefitted, for it was "up to women to carry the sacred torch of sport in the absence of men bent on sterner sport".[6] The cause of women's sport was also advanced in a more subtle way because of the war. Through their war work, women demonstrated that they possessed greater physical stamina than ever previously acknowledged. This new "discovery", coupled with their growing athletic competitiveness, gave a tremendous impetus to their postwar involvement in sport.[7]

**Reactionary Attitudes to the Golden Age of Sport**

By the 1920s, just over 15 per cent of the Canadian labour force consisted of women, only a small percentage increase since the turn of the century. Remarkably few married women (3 per cent) worked outside the home.[8] Coupling marriage with a career was rarely possible, at least among middle-class women, if not by reason of legislation then because it simply was not done. Women were segregated primarily into personal and domestic service job ghettos, as teachers, nurses, clerks, saleswomen, and clothing or textile workers. Two images of women existed simultaneously. On the one hand they were lauded as ideal homemakers, feminine and maternal, morally superior to men but requiring protection. There was concern that too much education and work might destroy their maternal instincts.[9] On the other hand, a new image of women was becoming increasingly prevalent. It portrayed women as equal to men and endowed with the same capabilities. Their potential could be successfully developed in all areas, including those like sports, which had been associated almost exclusively with men.

This contradiction between the feminine/maternal/weak and the masculine/efficient/strong image of women was also reflected in women's sport in the 1920s and early 1930s. Some have called it the Golden Age of sports activity for Canadian women. Although this is probably an overstatement, it has some validity. There is no doubt that postwar women profited from the growing boom in men's professional and spectator sport. It was also an era when Canada produced world champion speed skaters, basketball teams, and swimmers, and dominated women's track and field at the 1928 Summer Olympics in Amsterdam. Spectators flocked to support women's basketball and baseball; women's teams were sponsored by private patrons; radio stations broadcast women's sporting events; and several newspapers employed women sportswriters who wrote special columns on women's sport.

Organizations governing women's sport flourished as women strove for autonomy in this facet of their lives.

But at the same time as girls and women were striving to escape the constraints of the past and revel in their newfound physical freedom, many influential voices were sounding the alarm, particularly in the United States.[10] During the immediate prewar and postwar periods the members of a relatively new profession for women, physical education, had multiplied rapidly. Through the organizations they influenced and sometimes controlled, such as the Y.W.C.A., the Girl Scouts, and the Playground and Recreation Association, they advocated a modified, minimally competitive version of sport for girls and women. The six-player, limited court, two-dribble version of basketball known as "girls' rules" and created in 1899 was just that – a modified version of the men's game. Yet these women were not "stodgy, antimodern advocates of an idealized Victorian past", they were products of early twentieth century feminism, embracing "the gains in work, law, family life, and personal autonomy that women had won".[11]

Why, then, did they seem to possess such reactionary attitudes? Central to their philosophy was their acceptance of the notion of female limitations: menstruation hindered a woman; her lower weight, inferior strength and lighter bone structure made her more accident-prone; intense physical activity made her barren; and so on. Not only were highly competitive sports harmful to the female, they asserted, she could never do as well as men; hence it was pointless to try. These women found it eminently more sensible to encourage sports for everyone and not just for the talented few. They believed and followed the creed adopted by the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation: "A game for every girl and a girl for every game". On the practical level, they fought to keep women's sports as unlike men's and as far removed from male control as possible by advocating separate programs, teachers, coaches and officials. They campaigned vigorously against all championships, tournaments, and interscholastic competitions, branding them "unwholesome". They were particularly incensed at the inclusion of women's events in the 1928 Summer Olympics. They sought alternatives to the competition they so despised by encouraging "play days" or "sports days" where girls from different schools played *with* rather than *against* each other. In sum, they championed what they saw as "a more moral and democratic athletic philosophy than men's". They had, in other words, converted women's supposed physical limitations into "exemplary social virtues" by accepting the idea of women's incapacity for achievement and competition and then calling "sport for sports sake" morally and socially superior.[12]

Physical education was a new phenomenon in Canada during the 1920s and many women in the field, particularly in Ontario, went to the United States to attend graduate school or conferences. As they slowly began to endorse the beliefs of their American counterparts, some schools in Ontario withdrew from interschool competition for girls in

favour of the more acceptable play day or sports day. By 1933, the schools in and around Toronto had effectively banned girls' interscholastic sports competition, although this was not the case throughout most of the rest of the province.[13] Nonetheless, the belief that sport run *by* women *for* women was superior and more democratic to that of men's became an entrenched philosophy among female physical educators, especially in Ontario. As we will see later, there are some who assert that this philosophy has hindered the growth of women's sport in Canada; others believe in it as fervently today as did those dedicated and sincere professionals of the 1920s and 30s.

As the mid-1930s approached and the Depression tightened its grip on Canada, there were signs that the Golden Age was over. Reactionary attitudes towards athletic competition for females were taking hold; commercialized professional sport for men was on the rise, meaning that boys' and men's sports were given priority of access to public facilities. Spectators were drawn away from women's games to the exclusively male professional sports like ice hockey, football, and baseball; it became increasingly difficult to find sponsors for women's teams, and the newspapers were turning their attention away from both men's and women's amateur sport.[14]

**The Impact of the War and "The Feminine Mystique"**

World War II took its toll on both men's and women's sports. Although many of the leagues continued, nobody took athletics very seriously. All international competition was cancelled until the 1948 Summer Olympics in London. The mobilization of women into industry during the war was merely a temporary phenomenon. In the immediate postwar era, through government legislation and simple peer pressure, married women were forced out of the labour force and unmarried women were channelled into traditionally female occupations.

However, during this time and until the early 1960s, Canada could boast a few highly successful international women competitors, although all in individual sports. In 1948, Barbara Ann Scott won the Olympic, World and European figure skating titles. A sixteen-year-old student, Marilyn Bell, became in 1954 the first person of either sex to swim across Lake Ontario. Although Canadian women won only a single medal in the Summer Olympics between 1952 and 1964, they were a force to be reckoned with in the Winter Games – skiers Lucille Wheeler and Anne Heggtveit, and figure skaters Suzanne Morrow, Frances Dafoe, Barbara Wagner, Maria Jelinek, Petra Burka, and Debbie Wilkes were all medal winners or world champions. Countries such as Canada, Australia, and the United States had not suffered nearly as much as Great Britain and the European countries from the deprivation and chaos of war; therefore, this sudden splurge of international success they all experienced should not be surprising. For women, it was also a time of family consolidation, of suburbia, and as one writer put it, of "embodying the ideal female existence according to the prevailing ideology".[15] In sport, the ideology held

true to form. Women were allowed to participate without ridicule or criticism at all levels of competition in activities that were either traditionally sanctioned or appropriately feminine. Thus, figure skating and gymnastics were perfectly acceptable, as were swimming, tennis and golf, while in competitive skiing and athletics women were just beginning to break down the resistance to their participation in highly competitive events. Barbara Ann Scott was, as one commentator has pointed out, "adored by most Canadians as much for the image of the ideal Canadian womanhood she projected as for her expertise on skates".[16] Marriage and family were the expected outcome after a short-lived athletic career.

**Our Legacy in International Sport**

In the summer of 1895, Mrs. Sydney Smith, the Canadian Women's Tennis Champion, and Miss Delano-Osborne, the former champion, went to Buffalo to compete in an American tournament. On the west coast several Victoria tennis players took part in a tournament at the Olympic Club of Seattle, competing in singles, doubles, and mixed doubles. These may be the first incidents of Canadian women travelling to another country to compete in organized sport.[17] In April 1900, a Miss Linton from the Royal Montreal Golf Club entered and won a women's tournament in Lakewood, New Jersey. A few weeks earlier, women golfers from the Pacific Northwest Golf Association had accepted an invitation to compete in the ladies' foursome, mixed foursome, and driving contest at Waverly Golf Club in Portland, Oregon.[18] Again, another first for Canadian women athletes. Figure skating, on the other hand, took a little longer. In 1914, Miss Jean Chevalier and Norman Scott from the Winter Club of Montreal entered the United States Fancy Skating Championship in New Haven, Connecticut and won the pairs competition.[19]

However, we can not legitimately claim any international victories for women athletes until after World War I. Although the medal-winning performances of the Canadian women's 1928 Olympic track and field team seemed totally unexpected, they really were not surprising, given their prior performances in some of the first international competitions in track and field held for women in the Western world. In 1925, Canadian women entered international competition for the first time at a triangular meet between Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, and Canada held in London, England. According to their coach, a Captain F.A.M. Webster, "most of the girls who made the team were well known in Canada as players of basketball and hockey, and there were also some first-class ice-women among them".[20] Their names ought to be remembered: Myrtle Cook, Kay Flanagan, Mollie Trinnell (captain), Jean Godson, Grace and Hazel Conacher, Velma Springstead, G. Wood, J. Dyment and C. Ballard. Canadian women did not compete in the Second International Ladies' Games in 1926 in Sweden for reasons that are unclear, except that they were apparently preparing to enter the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam. Their record is outstanding: two gold, one silver, one bronze, and the

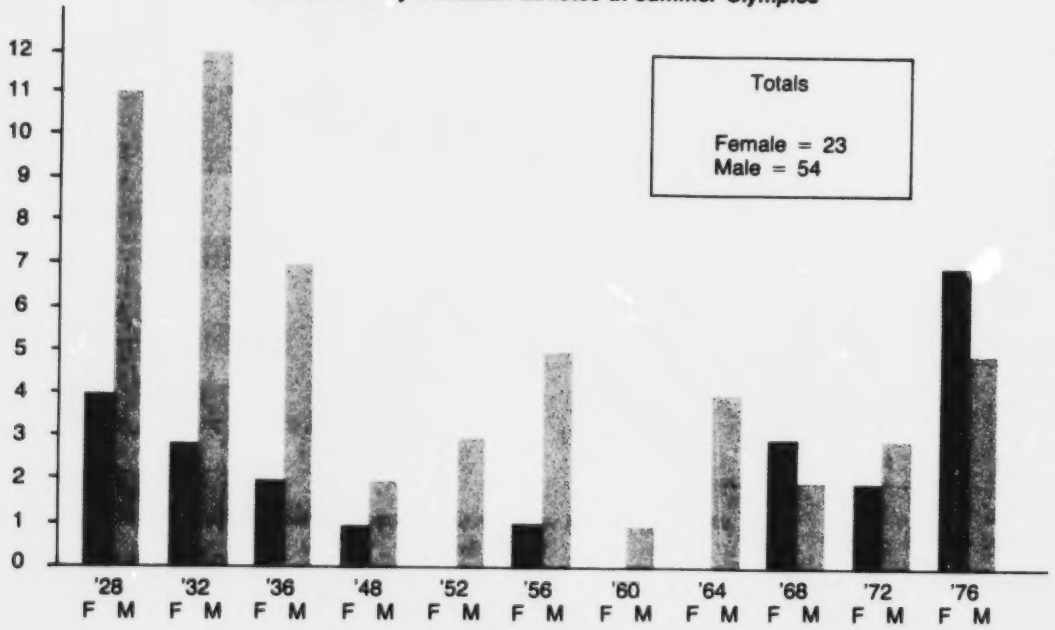
overall winners among eleven nations. Canadian women have never done so well since.

The record of the 1928 track and field team overshadows the fact that these women were not the first to represent Canada in Olympic or world competition. The honour belongs to Miss Cecil Smith, a fifteen-year-old figure skater who was the only female member of the 1924 Canadian team at the Winter Olympics in Chamonix, France.[21] We would also be remiss not to mention the amazing record of the Edmonton Grads, a Canadian women's basketball team that for more than twenty-five years dominated the game both nationally and internationally.[22] June 1923 marked the first time the Grads played outside Canada, defeating the U.S. champions for what was called the 'world' title. In the following summer they were invited by the *Fédération sportive féminine internationale* to compete in a series of exhibition matches with European teams at the First Women's World Games in Paris. They met and trounced six teams, thereby earning the real world title. The Grads continued their winning ways at exhibition contests associated with the 1928, 1932, and 1936 Summer Olympics.

From time to time, Canadian sportswriters claim that overall our female athletes have a better success record at international amateur sport than Canadian men. Jim Coleman, a nationally syndicated Canadian sportswriter, wrote in 1974, "At the level of amateur competitive sports, Canada is dominated by the Female of the Species . . . the implications are that Canadian girls excel Canadian boys in their dedication to the rigorous training schedules which are demanded by their individual sports".[23] Coleman went on to refute the idea that girls are more dedicated or willing to make personal sacrifices than boys, but he suggested that they were more *able* to do so. His thesis was that Canadian parents, particularly those with few financial worries, still subscribe to the "Daddy's Little Girl" theory of raising their children: boys are expected to rush through their schooling and become financially independent as soon as possible, with professional sport as an option if they have the talent. In contrast, there is no great rush to push Canadian girls into independence and there are few opportunities in professional sport anyway. Daddy's Little Girl can indulge herself and finish her schooling later if necessary. Coleman's theory aside, the question still remains: how have Canadian female athletes fared at the international level in comparison with their male counterparts?

In order to answer this question, we compared the number of medals won by our male and female athletes at four international sporting events: the Summer Olympics (1928-1976), the Winter Olympics (1924-1980), the Pan-American Games (1955-1979), and the Commonwealth Games (1930-1978). We began with the first year of entry for Canadian women athletes and continued until the last year of entry for Canada.[24] The results appear in Figures 3.1 to 3.4. Canadian women have won a total of 407 medals in these games and Canadian men have won 840, over twice as many.

**FIGURE 3.1**
**Medals won by Canadian athletes at *Summer Olympics**




*Canadian women did not compete until 1928; Canadian men began competing in 1904.

**FIGURE 3.2**
**Medals won by Canadian athletes at *Winter Olympics***

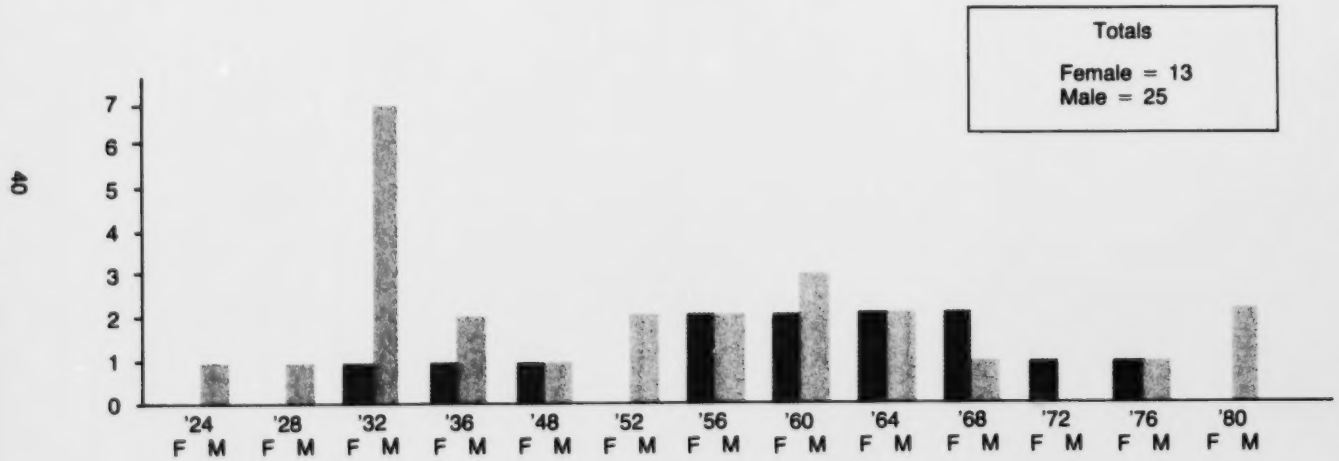


**FIGURE 3.3**
**Medals won by Canadian athletes at *Pan-American Games***

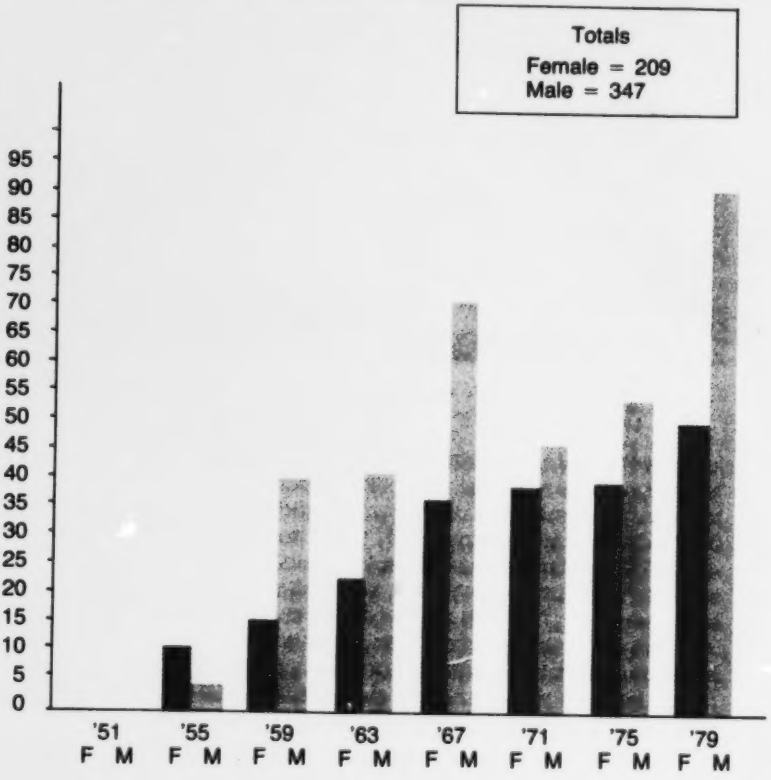
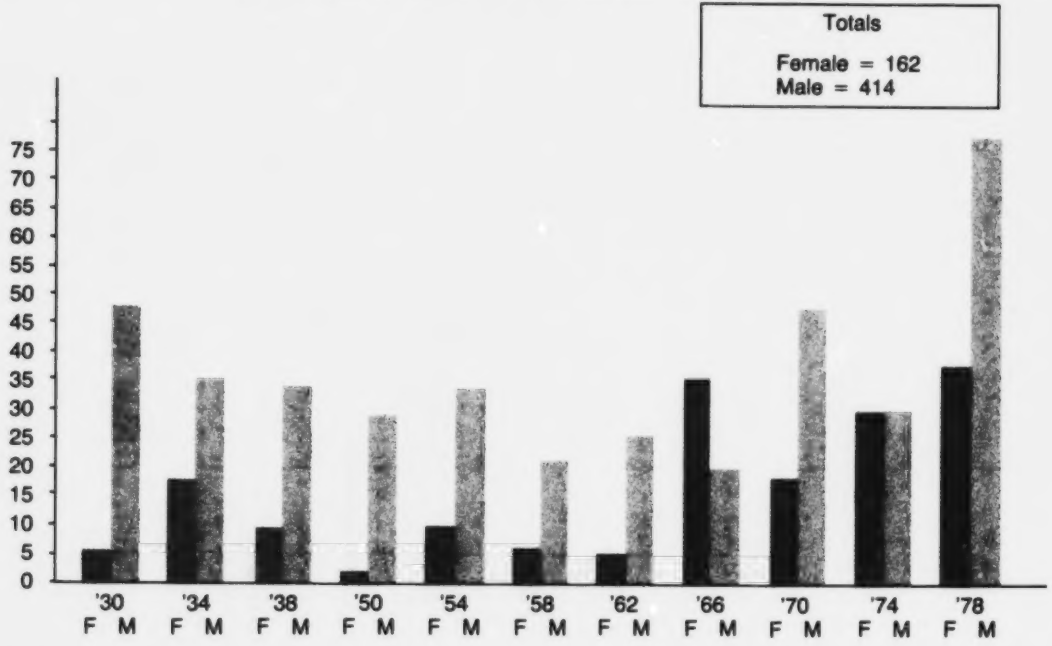


**FIGURE 3.4**
**Medals won by Canadian Athletes at *Commonwealth Games***



However, closer examination reveals that this is not a very meaningful statistic. Women cannot compete in as many sports or events at any of these international competitions. In fact, if you compare the number of sports open to men and women at the 1976 Summer Olympics, the 1980 Winter Olympics, the 1978 Commonwealth Games, and the 1979 Pan-American Games, you find that the men had the opportunity to compete in exactly twice as many sports as the women (62 to 31). In terms of the number of events, the ratio is even higher. In other words, male athletes, at least on the basis of these international competitions, have more than twice as many opportunities as female athletes to win a medal.

In a further analysis, we compared the medal performance in only those sports in which *both* females and males have an opportunity to compete. Figures 3.5 to 3.8 present this information. Here, the differences between men and women are very small. In fact, on this basis Canadian women outperformed men at the last Summer Olympics in which Canada competed (1976); they consistently outperformed them at the 1956, 1964, 1968, and 1972 Winter Olympics, the 1971, 1975, and 1979 Pan-Ams, and the 1974 and 1978 Commonwealth Games.

**FIGURE 3.5**
***Summer Olympic Games* medals won in sports in which *both* males and females can compete**

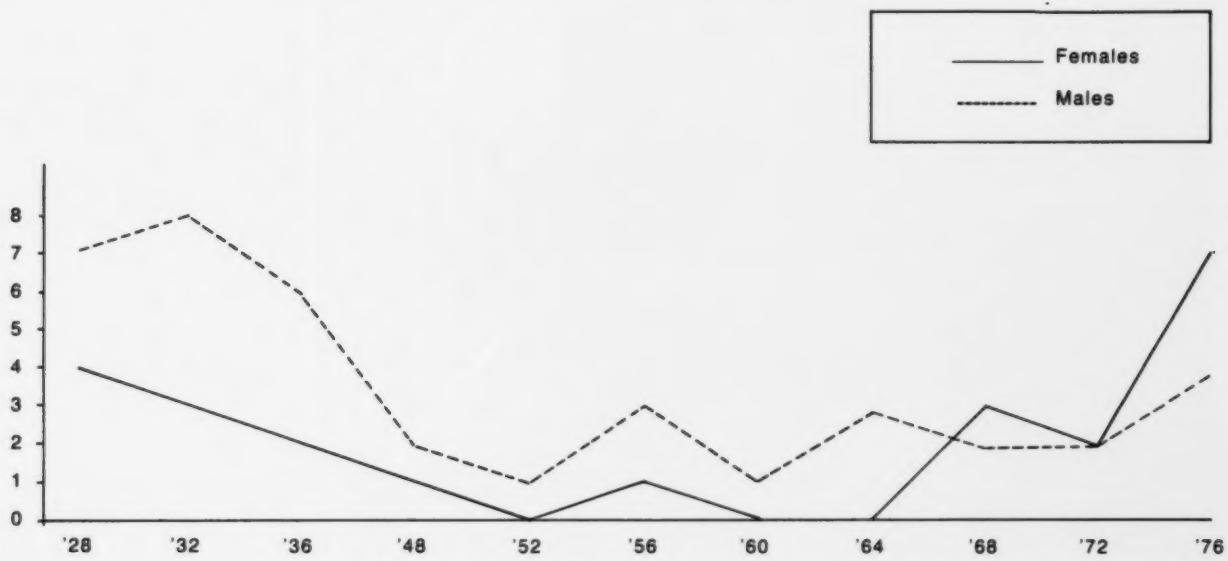


**FIGURE 3.6**
***Winter Olympic Games* medals won in sports in which *both* males and females can compete**

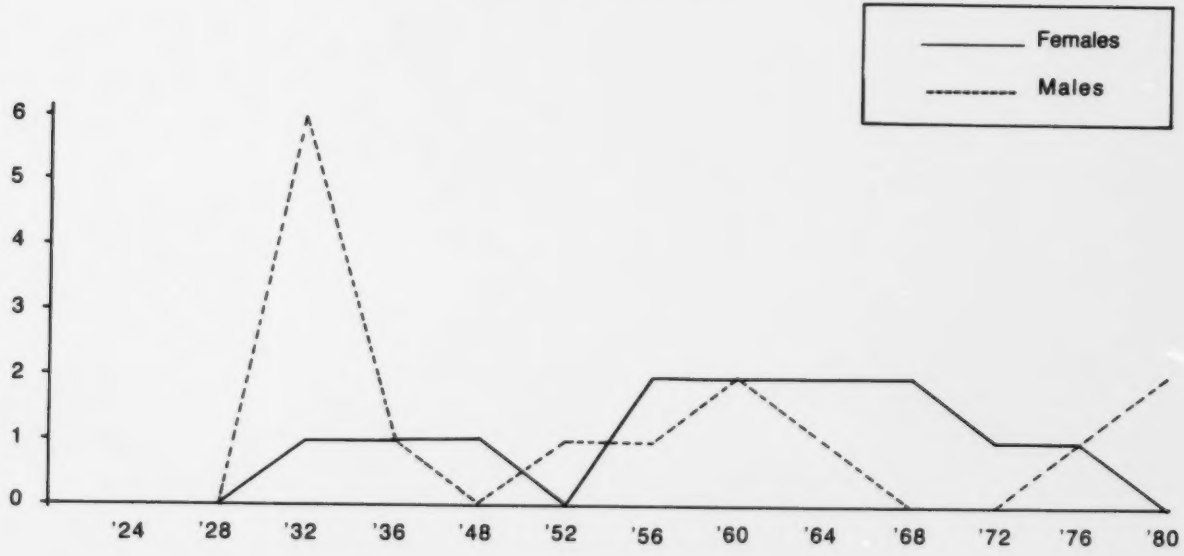


**FIGURE 3.7**
***Pan-American Games* medals won in sports in which *both* males and females can compete**

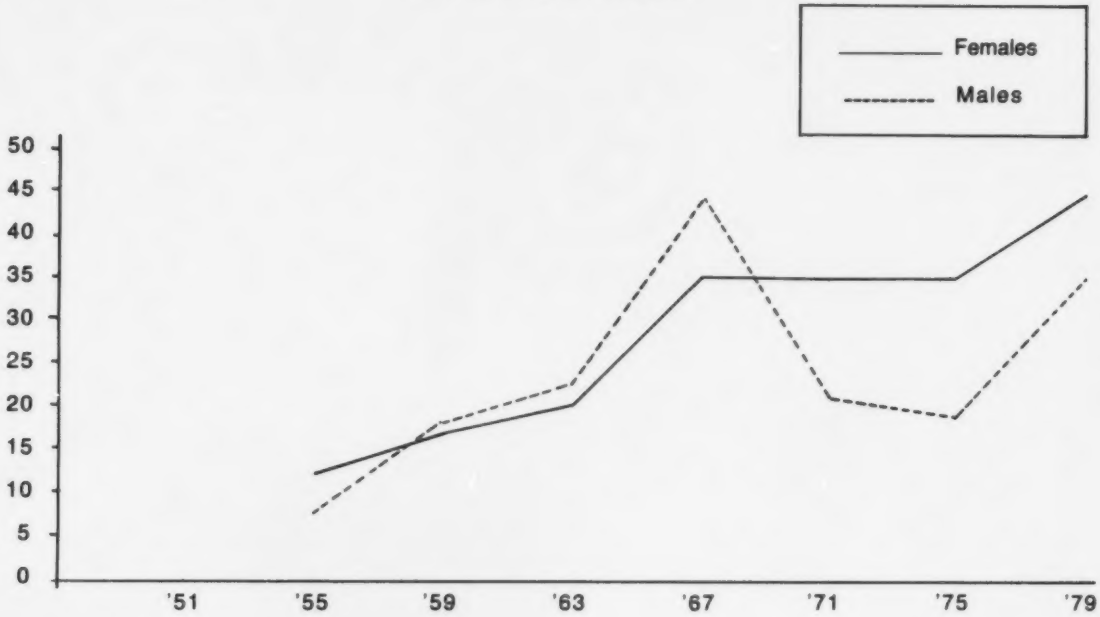
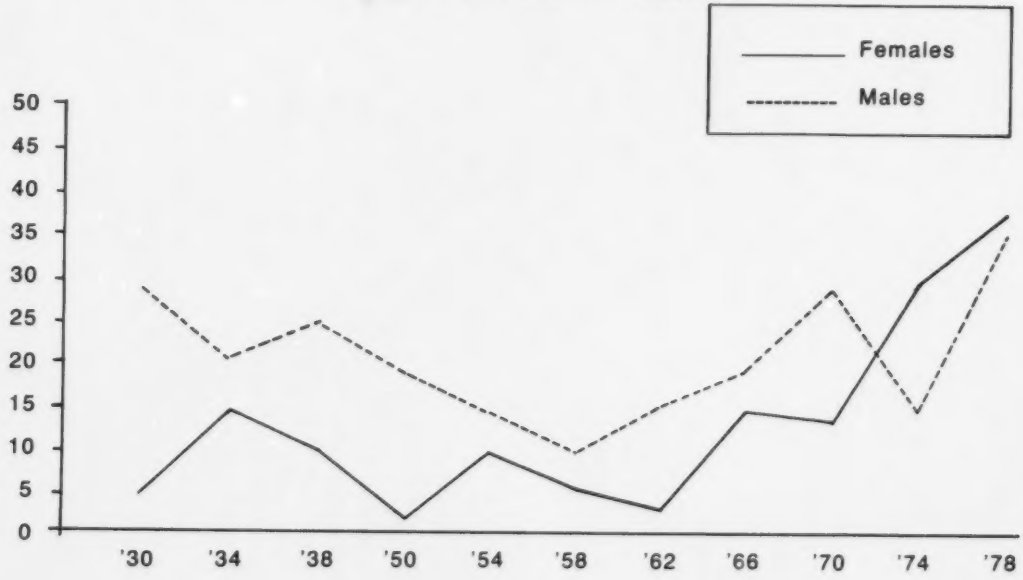


**FIGURE 3.8**
***Commonwealth Games* medals won in sports in which *both* males and females can compete**



Moreover, *Canadian women have consistently won a greater proportion of medals at these competitions than would be expected when the female/male ratio of athletes is examined.* For instance, at the Summer Olympics, women on average have constituted only 20 per cent of the Canadian team but have won 30 per cent of the medals; at the Winter Olympics the ratio is 16 per cent of the membership and 34 per cent of the medals; and for the Commonwealth Games the figures are 23 per cent and 28 per cent. Fortunately, the proportion of women to men on Canadian international teams is steadily increasing. More than 30 per cent of the 1976 Canadian Summer Olympic team was female. However, with these sporting spectacles as large as they are now, it is unlikely that we will see an equally significant increase in the number of sports and events in which women can compete.

In summary, our Canadian female athletes have burnished our image on the international sports scene and they continue to do so. They have a long history of achievements since the 1920s. Our overall rank in terms of medals won (23) at the Summer Olympics is twelfth.[25] In comparison, female athletes of the top-ranked United States have won 210 medals and those of the U.S.S.R. have won 180. Small East European countries such as Romania, East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia have had greater success in Olympic competition. So too have equivalent Western countries, such as Great Britain and Australia. In Winter Olympics we rank seventh, behind the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Austria, Germany, Finland, and France. It must be remembered, however, that we have only a handful of athletes in a limited number of sports (swimming, alpine skiing, and figure skating) who have even a chance at an Olympic Gold.[26] And we should not forget that Canadian women athletes have enjoyed considerable success at the Pan-American and Commonwealth Games, particularly in track and field. Diane Jones-Konihowski, for instance, has become the 1980s version of wholesome Canadian female athleticism. Two unsung athletic heroines who have never won an Olympic medal, Christilott Hansen (equestrian) and Abigail Hoffman (track), competed in an unprecedented four Olympics. Trap shooter Susan Nattrass regularly wins at the world level and was Canada's first female representative in the shooting competition at the 1976 Summer Olympics. We must not forget those athletes, whether in individual or team sports, who through sheer hard work and unswerving dedication achieve international recognition but cannot grasp the elusive Olympic Gold.

# 4

# DOES EQUALITY EXIST?

As we have demonstrated, Canadian women have a rich and varied sporting history, which now spans more than one hundred years. Their achievements at the international level are numerous and notable. They have done at least as well, if not better, than our male athletes. Comparison of the men's and women's accomplishments does not prove, however, that equality exists. It shows merely that Canadian women athletes are equally as committed and dedicated as their male counterparts – perhaps more so, given the barriers they have had to overcome.

In this chapter we approach the issue of whether equality exists, today in the 1980s, for Canadian females in sports. To answer this

question, we analyze the progress made during the last decade or so towards removing the institutional and legal barriers that inhibit the unconditiona' participation of females in competitive and recreational sport. Attitudinal barriers to equality will be examined in the next chapter.

There are many indicators of the degree of women's equality in sport.[1] For instance, employment conditions and practices can be surveyed. Are women and men given equal opportunity to apply for jobs? Are both sexes paid the same salaries for essentially the same work? Are they given the same decision-making power? Are the numbers of men and women distributed equitably throughout the professional ranks?

Another indicator is the expenditure of public monies. Do programs for each sex receive comparable financial support? Are facilities provided by government funds shared equally, at times convenient and desirable for both males and females? We could also examine the proportion and quality of media coverage given to men's and women's sport. We could take a look at physical education programs across the country and assess their potential for full participation by both sexes. Are all curricular offerings open to both boys and girls? Are boys and girls arbitrarily separated for physical education classes?

In fact, we could create a seemingly endless checklist for assessing the status of equality in sport, recreation, and physical education. Unfortunately, it is not possible to answer all the questions we pose. There is simply not enough information available at present, despite a nationwide search for studies, surveys, position papers, and the like.

Why is this so? A simple answer would be that no one bothers to ask for the information. In reality, this is only part of the answer: the full story is actually much more complex. First, there are many men and women, particularly at the policy level, who do not recognize the existence of a problem and so do not see the need for studies to assess or monitor the status of equality. Second, unlike the United States, with its Title IX legislation, there are no anti-discrimination guidelines to which educational institutions receiving public monies must adhere or at least demonstrate that they are attempting to adhere. Third, even if financial data on the expenditure of public monies were available, it is still most unlikely that program-by-program comparisons could be made based on the data.

Despite the inadequacies of the information available to us, we have been able to assess the status of equality in three major areas: *participation* (recreational sport and physical activity, competitive and high performance sport); *leadership* (coaches, executives and administrators); and *physical education* (program and employment conditions at the school and university levels).

## Participation

It is important to recognize that there are different levels of participation in sport and physical activity, which we have termed recreational, competitive, and high performance levels. Recreation is a concept more

closely aligned to leisure than it is to sport. Sport is often viewed as only one of many possible recreational activities. Recreation in turn is considered only part of a host of social services needed to assist in the development of a healthy, individual personality. For many individuals sport is recreation, but for many others sport is something other than recreation, something other than a leisure-time activity; it is a serious commitment and sometimes a profession. At the competitive and high performance levels of sport, the competition may vary in intensity and quality, but the athletes in both are devoted to their sport and the pursuit of excellence.

***Recreational Sport and Physical Activity***

It is often claimed that we are a sedentary nation, and there is some truth to the claim. In a 1976 comprehensive survey of Canadian participation in fitness, physical recreation, and sport activities, it was found that only half of the 17,452,000 Canadian residents 14 years and over who were physically capable of participating in some activity, actually did so at least once in the preceding twelve months.[2] The fitness of Canadians relative to the populations of other Western nations is difficult to determine. However, the cross-cultural patterns are invariably the same: participation in both sport and exercise declines with age; it varies directly with income; it tends to increase with education; single persons have a higher rate of participation than married persons; and finally, *males participate in sports to a greater degree than females but the difference is negligible for exercise activities.*

In Canada, swimming is the most popular *sport and physical recreation activity* with ice skating next – tennis, golf, ice hockey, cross-country skiing, downhill skiing and curling follow.[3] Women participate less than men in all sports except for cross-country skiing. Walking is the most popular form of *exercise activity* followed by calisthenics, jogging, bicycling, weight lifting, yoga, and skipping rope.[4] The proportion of men participating in exercise is only marginally higher than the proportion of women. Female participants slightly outnumber male participants in calisthenics and yoga.

Why do women participate less than men in sport and physical recreation activities? Their interest is no less, as evidenced by their equal numbers in exercise activities, although one interesting finding of the 1976 survey was that proportionally fewer women (32 per cent) than men (35 per cent) were satisfied with their current activity level. This was true for non-participants as well: 31 per cent of women, 37 per cent of men.[5] Furthermore, women specified more often than men that the availability of an individual or group with whom to exercise, or of organized classes, would be incentives to activity. Lack of sufficient leisure time seems to be the problem. The constraints imposed by marriage, family and possibly work (more than 40 per cent of married women in Canada are in the labour force) are very real to women who, in many cases, either place their own interests and leisure pursuits far behind their commitment to

the maintenance of a household or disregard their personal needs completely. It is particularly unfortunate that when married women with families do pursue their own interests, they often feel guilty for doing so. Still, the situation has begun to improve recently: more and more women, particularly middle-class professionals and homemakers, are showing an increasing interest in a fitness-oriented lifestyle.[6]

We believe it appropriate at this point to emphasize that there is an enormous "hidden" contribution of time made by women to sport that is seldom accorded the recognition it deserves. That is women's volunteer effort, in what might otherwise be personal leisure time, in supporting the athletic and recreational activities of children. Many mothers have almost daily contact with sport through the car pools, billeting, laundering of uniforms, and sideline encouragement that are essential features of community sports programs and tournaments for children. This participation of women in sports goes virtually unacknowledged, as does the fact that their participation in their children's activities leaves little time for their own.

With more and more girls and women discovering the rewards of physical fitness and the pleasure to be found in a wide variety of recreational sports and activities, do they have enough opportunities to participate? Are public recreation programs responsive to their needs? We assume things have changed for the better since 1974, when a study

of the services and facilities offered by the Toronto Parks and Recreation Department showed a dismal sex bias in favour of males.[7] For example, in the 10 city-operated recreation centres, boys were offered approximately 260 hours a week of physical recreation, while girls had only 130 hours. Girls were offered more hours of arts and crafts, cooking, choir, theatre arts, cheerleading, baton, and the like. For adult women, the most frequently scheduled activity was "slimnastics", again reinforcing a stereotype. There were no women's changing rooms at many facilities.

In the summer of 1977 a community school in Etobicoke, a suburb of Toronto, offered two recreation programs, one called "Just for Guys" and the other "Girls and Things". Included in the boys' program were activities such as hiking, baseball and a trip to the stadium to see the Toronto Blue Jays play the Chicago White Sox. The girls' program featured sewing, cooking, modelling, hair styling and skin care. After a mother tried to register her two daughters, aged seven and nine, in the program designated for boys only and was refused, a complaint was lodged with the Ontario Human Rights Commission on the basis that the school had violated the Human Rights Code by offering separate recreational programs for boys and girls. In the investigation that followed, the Etobicoke Parks and Recreation Commissioner defended the program, saying:

> *What's wrong with girls taking cooking lessons, some of them really need it. . . . We're not going back to the traditional stereotyped roles, but this unisex thing is going too far, in some respects – we've got to the point where boys don't even know they're boys any more.*[8]

After nearly a year of conciliation and the possibility that all of the recreation programs in Etobicoke would be investigated, the separate boys' and girls' programs were dropped. In its place was instituted a Super Stars program for "young athletes in the community", open to both sexes.

In a provincial survey of public recreation programs conducted in Ontario in 1976, it was found that sports activities were heavily dominated by males, who accounted for more than two-thirds of all participants.[9] Females, on the other hand, dominated cultural and other recreational activities. Although outdoor recreation activities were more equally balanced in terms of sex, the majority of formal recreation programs were conducted on a sex-segregated basis. In general, recreation resources (facilities, staff, budget, and programs) were definitely not available to males and females on an equal basis. Inequities were justified on the basis of demand: females do not indicate the same need, interest, or desire for recreation programs. To their credit, however, the administrators recognized that the single most inhibiting factor, especially for women with children, was the lack of child care services. Everyone agreed that it ought to be provided as long as they, the municipal recreation departments, did not have to pay for it.

We have no way of knowing whether public recreation programs across this country still cater to males more than females, are blatantly sex-stereotyped, make little or no provision for child care, or in general

fail to recognize the growing needs of girls and women. It would be a most interesting and fruitful exercise to find out.

***Competitive Sport***

Women's sport is described in the popular press as a fairly recent phenomenon, showing a staggering increase in participation over the past few years. How true is this picture? Participation trends can be assessed by examining the membership statistics of provincial and national sport governing bodies. Such a study was conducted recently: results show that between 1974 and 1979 female membership increased by 33 per cent.[10] Sports enjoying the largest increase in popularity are soccer and cycling, which are integrated and were blatantly lacking in female members. Even sports that are exclusively for females, such as women's field hockey and gymnastics, have greatly increased their memberships (125 per cent and 52 per cent, respectively). Participation in such traditionally female sports as synchronized swimming, ladies' curling and golf has improved only a little (6.5 and 12 per cent). Two sports, basketball and swimming, have suffered a slight decline in the proportion of female members, although in the case of swimming, females still constitute more than half of all registered members.

It is difficult to compare the competitive opportunities available to males and females in Canada. Although age group swimming, for example, is totally integrated, such similar programs as ice hockey, football and baseball are predominantly intended to serve as apprenticeship training for athletes aspiring to the professional leagues: as a result, girls are almost always excluded. Nevertheless, women are starting to combat this problem with sports of their own. Women's field hockey, for example, has become sufficiently well organized in the last few years to sponsor junior development programs, clinics, and leagues. Ringette (similar to ice hockey but without the physical contact) has been designed specifically for girls and now provides athletic competition for thousands across the country.

Competitive opportunities for girls in the various school systems across the country have improved considerably in the last two decades. No longer is it correct to assume the dominance of boys' inter-school sports like football and basketball, the pre-eminence of cheerleading as a girls' activity, and the disproportionate allocation of major resources to the boys' programs. Yet, inequities still exist. Participation statistics for 1979-80 inter-school sports obtained from the Alberta Schools' Athletic Association, for instance, show that in grades 10 to 12, males outnumbered females by 50 per cent (30,000 to 20,000).[11] Admittedly, the only sports in which girls do not participate are wrestling and baseball (a few play football or even do weightlifting), whereas the boys do not compete in field hockey. Almost equal numbers of boys and girls compete in badminton, basketball, curling, swimming, track and field, volleyball, team handball, judo, skiing, softball, and tennis.

In a 1977 survey of Ontario high school competition, males comprised almost three-fifths of the interschool athletes. The discrepancy was even

larger in metropolitan and large schools.[12] In many of the schools surveyed, the number of male athletes participating in football represented most of the difference in male/female participation rates. A comparison of the total budgets for boys' and girls' interschool programs shows that although slightly more monies were made available to the same percentage of female participants between 1973 and 1976, the budgets were still not divided fairly. In 1973-74, the boys received 66.8 per cent of the available funds, and the girls received 33.2 per cent; in 1974-75, the division was 65.1 per cent to the boys and 34.9 per cent to the girls; in 1975-76, the boys received 63.5 per cent and the girls 36.5 per cent.[13] These fiscal inequities are once again related to the emphasis put on boys' football teams.

At the university level, the male competitors outnumber females by two to one. In 1978-79, 72 per cent of the athletes participating in competitions sanctioned by the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (C.I.A.U.) were male while 28 per cent were female.[14] By 1980-81, the ratio had improved slightly, to 68 per cent and 32 per cent; the increase in female athletes was due to the addition of two sports for women leading to a national championship. At present, the men compete in eleven sports and the women in seven (basketball, cross-country skiing, field hockey, gymnastics, swimming and diving, track and field, and volleyball). There is no competition for women in football, ice hockey, soccer, and wrestling.

C.I.A.U. competition is divided into five conferences – Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Great Plains, and Canada West. The universities of Quebec have enjoyed the most dramatic increase (72 per cent) in the number of female competitors since 1978. The slowest growth (4 per cent) is evident in the Great Plains conference, comprising the universities of Regina, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Brandon, and Lakehead. In spite of these recent improvements, university men still have far greater opportunities than women to compete in C.I.A.U. sports.

### *High Performance Sport*

The federal government, through its Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch, continues to focus its energies and resources on the pursuit of excellence in amateur sport. Through one of its programs, called Game Plan Athlete Assistance, deserving Canadian athletes receive financial assistance to pursue their athletic careers. Athletes become 'carded' and eligible for support according to their actual or potential international competitive performance ranking. For instance, an athlete receives an International 'A' card if he or she ranks first to eighth and in the top one-third of Olympic, or world rankings in individual sports.

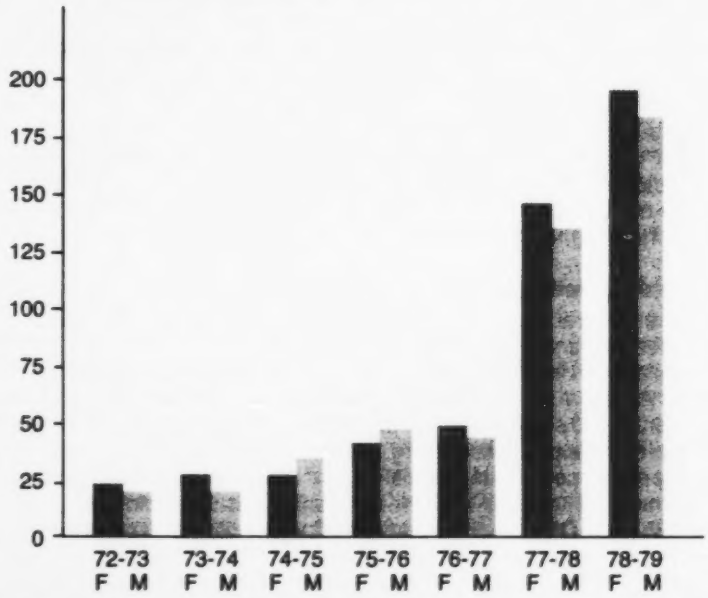
A comparison of male and female Game Plan carded athletes between 1972 and 1979 shows that a total of 52 per cent of these athletes were female.[15] Figure 4.1 illustrates the increase in carded athletes since 1972 and reveals that, on average, slightly more females than males have received support. Their larger numbers reflect the fact that Cana-

dian women athletes fare somewhat better than men when ranked with their counterparts in other nations.

We would also be remiss not to point out that the representation of francophone athletes on Canadian international teams has, until recently, been disproportionate to their numbers in the population.[16] The situation is improving and more attention is being paid to the needs of the high-performance francophone athletes, particularly women.[17]

How do we summarize the opportunities for Canadian girls and women to participate and compete in sports and physical activities at the recreational, competitive, and high performance levels? On the recreational level, we are not totally convinced that public recreation programs are as responsive as they might be to the needs and interests of females. No doubt programs vary from region to region and even within individual municipalities. We suspect, however, that many programs are still designed according to stereotypical notions of what is suitable and unsuitable for females. Public recreation administrators would claim that they

**FIGURE 4.1**
**The number of male and female game plan carded athletes in a selected sample of sports from 1972 to 1979***




**Source:* Pamela J. Lewis, "Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch Policies as They Pertain to Women in Sport in Canada from 1974 to 1979," Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980.

are merely responding to either perceived or real public demand. They are probably correct. Changes, if needed, can only be brought about by women themselves.

As we have pointed out, it has been difficult to compare the competitive opportunities available to males and females. Boys tend to be favoured at all levels of our educational system. However, there has been a significant increase over the past few years in the number of females competing in such activities as soccer, cycling, field hockey, and gymnastics. Finally, at the high performance level, our female athletes perform slightly better than their male counterparts and hence are able to take advantage of government financial assistance programs.

## Leadership

Amateur sport in Canada is very much a volunteer effort. Even though most sports governing bodies, especially at the national level, have some paid staff, the activities of these organizations are directed primarily by volunteers. There are hundreds of men and women who serve their sport in some leadership capacity, whether it be as coach, executive or administrator. As we will see, however, there are many more men than women.

### *Coaches*

We have yet to come across any meaningful explanation of why women cannot coach successfully at all levels of competition. Not only do women coach less than men, their percentage decreases further as the level of competition increases. For instance, a survey of coaches in Ontario high schools showed that only 26 per cent were female.[18] Admittedly, there were more boys' than girls' teams, but the co-ed teams in the schools studied were often coached by males. At the university level, the number of full-time coaching positions held by women has actually *decreased* over the past 3 years, despite the increase in female athletes.[19] Women fill only half of the full-time positions available to them. At the very highest level of expertise, coaches of national teams, only 13 per cent (or less than a dozen) are female.[20]

Are women being trained to be coaches? Canada has developed a fairly comprehensive coaching certification program, which provides coaches at all levels the opportunity to improve their knowledge and skill in the theoretical, technical and practical aspects of coaching. The levels of certification (five in all) vary with the sport, for many programs are still in the developmental stage. The most current data reveal that there are almost twice as many males as females in the program.[21] Nonetheless, almost 40 per cent of the fully certified Level I (lowest level) coaches are women. The drop-off from Level I to Level II is dramatic (over 90 per cent) for *both* sexes, but there are still twice as many certified Level II coaches who are male. No one seems to know why fewer women are in the program in the first place and why their progression through the various levels is less successful.

It is apparent, however, that there are hundreds and sometimes thousands of women, primarily volunteers, coaching in every conceivable sport. Their numbers are impressive in sports such as gymnastics, synchronized swimming, volleyball, basketball, field hockey and figure skating, but they are found primarily in schools, clubs and community leagues, rather than coaching college, university, provincial or territorial teams.

Does the sex of the coach matter? For male teams, there is little debate since only men, it is believed, have the necessary expertise and experience to coach their fellows. The question of who should coach female athletes has been and continues to be a divisive issue. The arguments in favour of having only women coach women have changed little since they were first developed in the 1920s and 1930s. The following was published in 1933:[22]

1. *As a rule the young and inexperienced man teacher as coach who has time for and interest in coaching girls' teams does not understand the physiological, psychological and social differences between boys and girls. A man is therefore apt to expect the same efforts and reactions from girls as from boys.*
2. *A woman, especially one trained in physical education, appreciates the problems and interests of girls and guides her procedure accordingly.*
3. *A man who coaches girls' teams is interested primarily in producing winning teams. Men who think they are better coaches than women have in mind the development of winning teams. Such men would not be*

*interested in teaching girls' physical education classes. They wish to work with a small group of picked players.*

4. *A man can never properly supervise girls' athletics. He cannot enter their dressing room. He cannot inspect and adjust uniforms. He cannot properly handle injuries. He cannot apply training and rubdown methods to girls which he is accustomed to use for boys.*
5. *A man can never adequately tell about the physical condition of girl athletes. Girls will not, even if they should, confide in a man coach as to whether or not they are physically fit for strenuous competitive athletics. This problem is sufficiently difficult for a woman and almost impossible for a man to handle.*
6. *A man is familiar with boys' play and boys' rules tend to make athletics of girls conform with that of boys. Thus, when men coach, the tendency is to play by boys' rules. All leaders in this field recognize that our games and sports should be adapted to individual and sexual differences.*
7. *Women know girls' rules better than they know boys' rules. They have the interest of all girls at heart and therefore tend to follow approved methods for girls.*
8. *Men who claim that women do not use good coaching methods are probably making the error of judging results entirely in light of standards of college athletics for men, since far too many men coaches use for boys the methods and standards of college athletics when they were in college.*
9. *The presence of a woman supervising girls' athletics tends to keep social relations on a sound moral basis. On the contrary, when a man is in charge the presence of other men is encouraged and familiarities seem less out of place.*
10. *When girls are led to measure up to standards and practices set for boys there is the real possibility of a coarseness and mannishness of action and attitude creeping in which may make the girls less womanly and which is apt to color the attitude of spectators, parents and people generally, to the detriment of all athletic activities for girls.*

In 1982, we hear almost the same arguments among those who believe that only a woman should coach other females:[23]

*If I were a mother, I would want my daughter to play for a woman coach. A woman coach knows what it's like to be a girl playing sports. I think such a coach has the innate sensitivity and softness a girl needs. It's entirely possible, by the way, to be feminine and also be a tough competitor. I play to win every time I go out there, and I hate to lose. I also think that a woman coach can best transmit these ideas to a young girl athlete.*

*A good male coach who is a moral person certainly can deal with the job of coaching a team of girls, but I think that the qualified woman can bring more to that relationship. After all she knows what it's like to be female.*

*Besides, the male coach can't go into the locker room before or after games. A lot of men tell me that they wait until the girls are dressed, then meet them outside the locker room. Well, let me tell you, that takes a lot away from the coaching situation.*

*Females need role models, both at the high school and college level. A young girl needs to be able to look up and see that women can do the job as a coach or an administrator. If she keeps seeing men in these roles, it says something negative to her.*

The arguments, durable as they are, by those who believe that there are distinct advantages to female coaches can be summarized as follows:[24] (1) female athletes need women coaches as role models; (2) women coaches are more knowledgeable about the rules and regulations governing female sports; (3) women can provide better supervision in the locker rooms and when travelling; (4) women coaches have an athletic philosophy that emphasizes sportsmanship and other educational goals as opposed to the "win-at-all-costs" attitude instilled by male coaches; (5) female athletes can be more candid with a woman coach regarding personal matters; and (6) having a woman coach affords the opportunity for women coaches to gain experience.

There are those, however, who believe that there are some equally distinct advantages to having male coaches for female teams: (1) they are more knowledgeable, experienced, and organized; (2) they provide more discipline for female athletes; (3) they have more strength and endurance for such essentials as equipment moving, changing tires, and long distance driving; (4) they work harder and longer during practice and in related duties; and (5) they have recruiting experience.

Through the years the issue has been a divisive one among those who hold conflicting philosophies: hire a woman coach regardless or hire the best qualified regardless of sex. Given the Canadian statistics quoted previously, it would seem that the "hire the best qualified" philosophy has won out in the end. In a recent survey of American colleges and universities, it was found that although the number of coaches and assistant coaches for women increased by 37 per cent between 1975 and 1980, most of those filling these jobs were men.[25] The number of women among head coaches actually dropped 20 per cent, while the number of men filling these positions increased by 137 per cent! In Canadian universities there has not been the same dramatic increase in the number of positions available for coaches of women's teams. Nonetheless, the problem is similar. Approximately 60 per cent of the women playing on a university team today are being coached by a man. When a woman coach is hired, the appointment is usually as a sessional or part-time lecturer, the remuneration is poor, and the position is expected to be only temporary. Athletic administrators justify this sort of hiring on the basis that the women's program is poorly organized anyway. We would argue that the program is poor *because* of this sort of hiring.

### *Executives and Administrators*

Twenty years ago there was virtually no federal government involvement in amateur sport in Canada. As their most recent policy paper on sport states:

> Prior to 1961, when the *Fitness and Amateur Sport Act* was passed, amateur sport programs in Canada were virtually run from kitchen tables across the country, held together and kept alive by the dedication and energy of a handful of generous volunteers. There were a few national associations such as skiing, speedskating and tennis, but individual sport groups seldom met, and each sport, and its athletes, tended to develop in a haphazard and isolated way.[26]

Today, some 75 national sport organizations receive over $25 million annually from the federal treasury. Most of these national associations now have full-time paid professionals, many operating out of the National Sport and Recreation Centre in Ottawa, which provides space and services to these associations. In fact, the federal government supports virtually all areas of sport development in this country: coaching and officiating, training, athlete assistance, sport administration and promotion. Still, sport associations or governing bodies, as they are called, are administered by a mixture of volunteers and paid staff. What we wish to assess here is the proportion and status of women involved in the administration of amateur sport.

The under-representation of women in the administration of amateur sport is not necessarily a specifically Canadian problem. It is world-wide. In a 1974 study of women in international sport organizations, the International Olympic Committee came to the unhappy conclusion that "the percentage of women with responsible jobs within the International Federations is almost non-existent".[27] Not surprisingly, they also found that the vast majority of national Olympic committees did not include women on their boards. In this context it is somewhat ironic that probably the most powerful paid position in international sport today, executive director of the International Olympic Committee, has been held for the past 12 years by a woman – Monique Berlioux of France. For the first time since it came into existence in 1894, the IOC in the fall of 1981 elected two female members.

Canadian women are certainly visible as volunteers and professionals in amateur sport, but they are vastly under-represented. In fact, they comprise approximately one-third of the volunteer sector and 26 per cent of the professional sector (executive directors, technical directors, program coordinators, and national coaches) of national sport governing bodies such as the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association.[28] In multi-sport, recreation, and special associations, such as the Sports Federation of Canada or the Royal Life Saving Society, women comprise 47 per cent of the professional and 18 per cent of the volunteer sector. In the only provincial study (Ontario) of which we are aware, women fill the majority of executive positions in sports that have only female participants (e.g. field hockey and ringette) but they are under-represented in all other sports organizations.[29] They comprise 26 per cent of all provincial sport executives in Ontario but only 19.5 per cent of executives in integrated sports. In addition there is a strong class bias for both sexes: executives are overwhelmingly drawn from the managerial, professional and technical occupations (e.g., lawyers, engineers, teachers, corporate

managers, etc.) or those who are highly educated. There is also an ethnic bias, in that francophones are badly under-represented.[30]

A further problem is that women are virtually absent from positions of higher responsibility and thus of power in the decision-making process. For example, there are only 2 women among the 38 members on the Board of Directors of the Canadian Olympic Association and none of the Executive is a woman.[31] In fact, women make up less than one-fifth of the board members of national amateur sport organizations. And this imbalance is all the more noticeable because large numbers of women are registered members of national sports governing bodies, particularly in integrated sports, where they sometimes comprise more than half the membership. On the professional level, women occupy only a small proportion (less than 20 per cent) of the full-time executive director and technical director positions. As in other sectors of the labour force, they are concentrated in the administrative assistant and secretarial positions.

At the university level the vast majority of athletic administrators are male (75 per cent).[32] Ontario is the exception, with 14 female and 22 male athletic directors, because it is the only conference to have retained separate governing organizations for men's and women's athletics. In fact, the Ontario conference appointed three-quarters of *all* female athletic administrators in the country during the last three years.

The problem is no less conspicuous among professionals in the recreation field. In a study of the employment of females as leaders, supervisors or administrators in public recreation in Ontario, it was found that males outnumbered females almost three to one. The higher the level of responsibility, the fewer the number of females. Moreover, females on average received $1,300 less than males when entering the recreation profession, and the male/female salary discrepancy increased as the level of responsibility increased, although all employees had similar educational backgrounds.[33]

We could document endlessly the under-representation of women in administration and executive, volunteer and professional positions in amateur sport. It is more important, however, to understand how and why this has come about and what can be done about it. This we intend to discuss in Chapter 6.

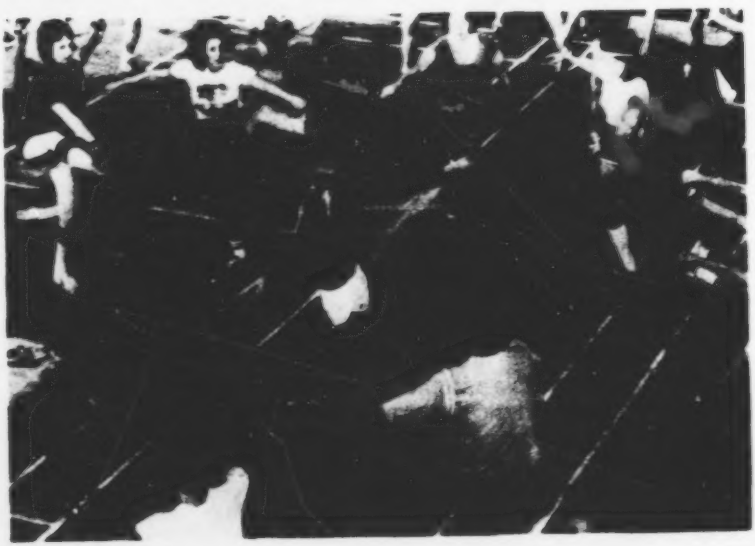
**Physical Education**

Physical education is a unique blend of a professional field and an academic discipline. The *profession* is concerned with the learning, performing and teaching of physical activities and sport, primarily within the educational system. Most junior and senior high schools have at least one "phys. ed." teacher to teach the physical education program included in the provincial curriculum guide. Specialist physical education teachers are less in evidence in elementary schools, where the classroom instructor often teaches the subject. Although most physical educators are employed in the school systems, they can now be found working in

private or public fitness and sport clubs, in community and municipal recreation programs, and in coaching, technical and administrative positions.

In the *academic discipline*, known also as kinesiology, human kinetics, kinanthropology, human movement studies or sport science, aspects of other fields (e.g. physiology, physics, psychology, sociology) are applied to the learning and performing of physical activities and sports. Students who specialize in this discipline usually undertake a comprehensive, four-year university program, followed by further training if they wish to teach in a school system. Master's and doctoral programs, although limited, are available to those who wish to pursue further professional training or embark on an academic, research-oriented career.

Assessing the degree of equality achieved by females in physical education, both as a profession and as an academic discipline, is a difficult task. In our view, the problem can be approached from two angles. One is to examine physical education programs in school systems across the country and assess their potential for full participation by both sexes. The other is to appraise the employment opportunities and conditions for female physical educators, particularly in schools and universities. Our data are far less categorical than for the participation and leadership sections because we have found virtually no studies. A good deal of what we have to report here, although certainly accurate, is highly generalized.



### *Physical Education Programs*

How can we determine if equality exists in physical education programs? Our American neighbours have had a good deal of experience with this issue, given the nature of their federal legislation prohibiting sex-based discrimination (see discussion about Title IX in Chapter 2). They have developed checklists to assess the equality of, for example, physical education classes and programs.[34] We list some of the questions here:

1. *Do both sexes meet the same number of hours per week to receive the same amount of credit?*
2. *Are all curricular offerings open to students of both sexes?*
3. *Are students of both sexes encouraged to participate in the entire range of offerings?*
4. *Are grading standards comparable for male and female students?*
5. *Are boys and girls arbitrarily and regularly separated by sex for physical education classes?*
6. *Where ability grouping is used to divide physical education classes, are both sexes judged objectively and assigned according to skill rather than single sex grouping?*
7. *Are students of both sexes subject to the same policies regarding exemptions from physical education?*
8. *Do both sexes have the same access to highly qualified instructors?*
9. *Are all facilities shared equally among all students?*
10. *Is the quality and quantity of equipment available for instruction comparable for students of both sexes?*
11. *Do both sexes have comparable dress (uniform) requirements for physical education classes?*
12. *Is the budget for physical education allocated such that students of both sexes benefit equally?*
13. *In coeducational classes, do students of both sexes participate fully? Do both sexes have equal opportunities for full participation in game situations?*

Were these questions asked of physical education supervisors in regions and municipalities across Canada, the answers would probably show very little evidence of sex discrimination. We believe that, by and large, our elementary and secondary school physical education programs are well designed to meet the needs and interests of the vast majority of students, male and female alike. We cannot be sure, however, because again there are virtually no studies to confirm our assessment. Those responsible assume it is sufficient to show that schools are following provincial physical education guidelines, which do not, to our knowledge, show evidence of sex discrimination. Where public pressure has been applied, it is to improve physical education programs for *all* children, and the potential problems of sex-stereotyping or discrimination have been overlooked.[35]

There are, however, some indications that more girls than boys develop a lifelong distaste for physical activity because of their physical education experiences in school. A study conducted in Ontario, where students leaving Grade 8 can choose whether to take physical education in Grade 9, found that 31 per cent of the girls avoided athletics as compared with only 20 per cent of the boys.[36] By Grade 11, 60 per cent of the girls had dropped physical education, while only 40 per cent of the boys did so. However, the *reasons* for not taking physical education were essentially the same for both sexes: they enjoyed physical education less, they considered themselves incompetent at physical education, did not believe their skills would improve, and they had received less encouragement from parents and friends to take physical education. It was also found that once the Grade 8 students decided not to take physical education in Grade 9, they were unlikely ever to renew their interest in athletics during high school. What is so unfortunate is that not only do these students perceive themselves to be less healthy and fit, and more often over-weight, in many cases they are. They are also far less inclined to participate in recreational or competitive sport inside and outside the school, particularly in the case of female students.

Why do more girls than boys either not select physical education as an option when it is no longer compulsory or stop taking it at some point in high school (usually after Grade 10)? We believe that both boys and girls are influenced by many of the same pressures, but perhaps to varying degrees. Boys who are physically unskilled must be terribly embarrassed by the constant public display of their incompetence, given the importance our society places on male physical prowess. For girls, on the other hand, academic achievement is often stressed more than athletic prowess; consequently, older students simply drop physical education in favour of academic subjects. We know as well, that the encouragement students receive from parents, friends, siblings and teachers is very important to their choice. Girls seem to be influenced much less by their fathers than by their mothers, who may support traditional feminine values. It has also been found that many high school girls feel threatened by co-educational physical education classes.[37]

There is no doubt that most students are content with their school physical education programs. In a recent study of the Edmonton separate school system, for example, 83 per cent of the girls in grades 6 to 10 expressed satisfaction or extreme satisfaction with their program.[38] Only 8 per cent expressed dissatisfaction; the rest had no opinion. These survey results are probably typical, although some variations across the country are to be expected.

But what about those who, through choice, are never involved in physical education beyond the elementary or junior high school level? We know that there are more girls than boys in this category. Making physical education compulsory is probably not the answer, but should we not find a way to instill a life-long love of physical activity in everyone? Some would see this as a ridiculous goal, since we would not advance

the same argument for most other subjects. The difference between physical education and other high school subjects is that it offers proven benefits to one's health and general well-being. It is essential, in our view, to redesign physical education programs so that they meet the needs of everyone, *particularly* those who might otherwise never discover the joy of human movement.

The investigators in the Ontario study mentioned earlier make some useful suggestions for change: (1) an alternative program that avoids or minimizes traditional competitive games and sports, concentrating instead on physical activities in which individual skill levels are irrelevant; (2) greater emphasis on recreational activities and lifetime sports skills, self improvement is stressed and competition among students is downplayed; (3) short "mini" courses, which allow students to sample a variety of sports and activities; (4) alternative evaluation schemes based on improvement in knowledge, physical capacities and skill levels, rather than on comparisons with others who are more skillful.[39] This is not to suggest that traditional programs and curricula should be abandoned, as most young people who are reasonably fit and have some sports skills enjoy them thoroughly, including the competitive aspects. Alternatives must be developed for those who through no fault of their own are less fit, less skilled or simply less competitive.

"She runs (throws, swims, skis) just like a boy" is a comment often made in physical education classes, frequently by physical education teachers themselves. Intended as a compliment to the skilled girl, in reality it is a good example of sex-role stereotyping. If we expect males and females to behave in certain ways or to perform certain skills *because of their sex*, we are guilty of this form of discrimination. Programs, classes and learning situations that reinforce such expectations are sex biased. In our view, teachers, curriculum planners and educational administrators have surprisingly little concern for this potential problem and have made few attempts to minimize it. The Manitoba Department of Education, for instance, very recently published a new physical education curriculum guide for the kindergarten to Grade 12 levels.[40] Although the guide contains no evidence whatsoever of sexism, neither can we find any positive statements on how to combat sex stereotyping.[41] We believe the guide should contain a philosophical statement stressing educational equity for both girls and boys. We recognize that this outlook may be implicit in the guide, but in view of the way some traditional curricula have discriminated on the basis of sex, it would be worthwhile to outline the philosophy.

Beyond suggestions in curriculum guides for the elimination of sex-role stereotyping, physical education teachers need training sessions and modules that show specifically and concretely how to (1) encourage attitudes that reflect equality of opportunity, (2) increase awareness of sex-role stereotyping, and (3) increase knowledge of practices, strategies and skills that support equitable program planning and instruction.[42]

***Employment Opportunities and Conditions***

In the process of writing this report, we have become increasingly aware of a very serious problem for women physical educators in school systems across this country. *Their numbers are declining*, in the opinion of the many people to whom we have spoken. Although we have very few facts and figures to substantiate our claim, we do believe we have some insight into this issue.

The 'problem', as it has been described to us, is that in the past, fairly equivalent numbers of male and female physical education teachers were employed in secondary schools; now, not only are there fewer teachers altogether, but there are even fewer women teachers. The few physical education teachers being hired tend to be men, and more women than men are being declared redundant because they have less seniority. The problem is attributed to declining school enrolment.

The male/female teacher ratio has probably been inequitable for some time. For example, statistics from Ontario show that in 1977, women made up only 25 per cent of the secondary school teachers whose first subject speciality was physical education.[43] What was always a bad situation is now becoming worse. With the gradual introduction of co-educational physical education into the curriculum, more male physical education teachers have begun teaching both girls and boys. Since female physical education teachers leave the school system at a faster rate for a variety of reasons (pregnancy, husband moving), men are taking over their jobs. In contrast to earlier practice, it is not seen as a problem for men to teach girls in physical education, particularly with co-educational classes. However, it is still considered inappropriate for women physical education teachers to teach (or coach) boys.

Traditionally, it was often considered essential that women teach girls' physical education courses. (It went without saying that men teach boys.) All the arguments we have discussed earlier would be evoked: girls must have female role models, women understand girls' needs better, personal matters are more easily dealt with by women, women embrace a more democratic and educational rather than competitive ethos, and so forth. The women teachers often considered their curricular offerings and school sport programs superior to those of their male counterparts. There are some who still believe this today. However, in a purportedly egalitarian program, which should offer the *same* experience to both boys and girls, these arguments are increasingly difficult, if not impossible to justify. Ironically, egalitarianism seems to be leading to the elimination of women physical education teachers. In fact they are slowly becoming extinct. Given the state of the Canadian economy, the situation for women is likely to become worse rather than better.

The problem cannot be remedied easily. The few school boards that are aware of the problem have taken affirmative action initiatives. These may or may not have some impact. They are certainly futile if no teachers are being hired! Obviously these initiatives assist individual women, but they do little to address the *structured* inequality present in our secon-

dary school systems. As one group of researchers has pointed out: "A slightly bigger share of a great deal less does not create equality".[44] Any attempts to rectify the situation must confront the fact that there are far more male than female secondary school teachers and far fewer women are in positions of responsibility. The reasons lie in an uncompromising system that makes little or no allowance for women who are very committed to their careers and yet still wish to leave the workforce temporarily for childrearing. A re-evaluation of the teaching profession must take place so that these women are not penalized for bearing children. Furthermore, women must be allowed to retain their seniority even when they leave the workforce temporarily. Finally, alternative work patterns such as job-sharing and part-time appointments must be made available to *both* men and women teachers.

What is the status of university-level teachers in physical education? Are there appropriate role models for female undergraduate and graduate students in physical education? In 1978, women represented 23 per cent of the total faculty with academic rank in the thirty-three Canadian universities that offer at least an undergraduate degree in physical education.[45] In 1970 they had represented 26 per cent of the total. There is, however, considerable variation throughout the country in the male/female staff ratios. There is also no apparent pattern as to region, date of program inception, or existence of a graduate program.

Three-quarters of the female faculty surveyed in 1978 held either a master's degree or a doctorate. When compared with their male colleagues, however, they held only 10 per cent of the total doctorates and 31 per cent of the master's degrees (see Table 4.1). It should also be noted that women in physical education lag far behind other academic women in terms of obtaining a doctorate, the highest academic qualification. For instance, in 1969-70 doctorates were held by 20 per cent of Canadian academic women teaching in the humanities, 25 per cent of those in the social sciences, 56 per cent of women teaching biological sciences, and 70 per cent of those in the physical sciences.[46]

**TABLE 4.1**

Distribution of Academic Women in Physical Education by Degree (1977-78)

| DEGREE | Total No. | No. Women | Women as % of Total in Degree Category | Women No. as % of Female Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOCTORATE | 351 | 34 | 9.7% | 18.8% |
| MASTERS | 324 | 100 | 30.9 | 55.2 |
| BACHELORS | 72 | 33 | 45.8 | 18.2 |
| DIPLOMA | 12 | 6 | 50.0 | 3.3 |
| OTHER | 21 | 8 | 38.1 | 4.5 |
| TOTAL | 780 | 181 | 23.2% | 100.0% |

**TABLE 4.2**

Distribution of Academic Women in Physical Education by Rank (1977-78)

| RANK | Total No. | No. Women | Women as % of Total in Rank | Women No. as % of Female Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PROFESSORS | 90 | 5 | 5.5% | 2.8% |
| ASSOCIATES | 215 | 32 | 14.9 | 18.0 |
| ASSISTANTS | 248 | 72 | 29.0 | 40.4 |
| LECTURERS | 110 | 41 | 37.3 | 23.0 |
| INSTRUCTORS | 87 | 28 | 32.2 | 15.8 |
| TOTAL | 750* | 178* | 23.2% | 100.0% |

* These totals should be 780 and 181; however, no ranks were available for a total of 30 faculty (3 women) who are at the University of Quebec (Montreal and Trois-Rivières).

Table 4.2 shows the 1978 distribution of women teaching university-level physical education throughout the various academic ranks. There were, and still are, very few female full professors, and about twice as many women as men were segregated in the lowest two ranks (lecturer and instructor). Of course it can be argued that because a substantially larger proportion of women (26 per cent) than men (10 per cent) hold minimal qualifications, they cannot expect to be over-represented in the professorial ranks, where presumably a master's degree is the minimum requirement. Nonetheless the male/female ratio in the lower ranks has not changed in the last few years although the academic qualifications of women have improved.

Female administrators in university physical education faculties are a rare species: there are certainly no Deans, only one Director, a few Departmental Chairpersons, and several Coordinators. They represent only a tiny proportion of the total number of administrators. It should be pointed out, however, that the situation is no different from any other academic field with the exception of nursing and home economics.

It has been impossible to obtain data on male/female salary differentials, but presumably they exist, since numerous studies have shown that they prevail in every academic discipline and university across Canada. These salary discrepancies remain even when sex differences in factors known to influence salaries, such as rank, highest earned degree and age, are taken into account.[47]

We have also been unable to fully investigate less tangible areas such as hiring practices, promotion and tenure, collegial relations and publishing opportunities.

In summary, the status of Canadian academic women in physical education is probably no better and no worse than the status of women academics in general. Interestingly, in 1976 women represented only 14 percent of the total university academic community (having been 19 percent in 1931), whereas women comprised 23 per cent of the physical education staff in 1978. The point is, however, that innumerable studies have uncovered discrimination against female academics. The introduction of equal employment opportunity policies has done much to redress past injustices, but the current general reduction in staff hiring will limit improvement in the foreseeable future.

Given this disturbing picture, it is obvious that Canadian female physical education students in the undergraduate years, and certainly in our graduate programs, rarely come in contact with academic, research-oriented women physical educators. The few role models to be found are more likely to be older than younger, single than married, and if married, probably with no children. What are the apparent ramifications for career choices and patterns among the *future* female physical educators of this country?

Certainly there is sex discrimination within our university faculties, be it overt or covert, but it is not the main cause of the reduced career aspirations of female physical educators. Quite simply, the majority of women do not remain in the profession on a continuous basis, although they make up half the students in undergraduate programs across Canada and have done so for years. The career choices they make are influenced greatly by personal and social factors, presumably marriage and childrearing. Aside from these, there are probably other equally important pressures. For instance, many women carry a normal teaching load coupled with coaching responsibilities. There is also a general perception of the female physical educator as active, lithe and young, a perception which slowly comes in conflict with the reality of aging. We are speculating here, however, for we uncovered little solid data on aspirations, career choices and employment patterns of the female physical educator.

To our knowledge, there is little or no career counselling available to female undergraduates aspiring to be physical educators or to women already in the profession. There is also little incentive to overcome the barriers to effective performance and career fulfillment through such things as part-time graduate programs, flexible working hours arrangements, retraining programs and job-sharing opportunities.

In a time when budget deficits and hiring freezes are the norm, it would be naive on our part to argue that university physical education departments should hire more women. However, *women, when qualified, must receive preference* in order to rectify their under-representation.

**Summary**

We began this chapter by asking the question: Does equality exist, today in the 1980s, for Canadian females in sport? Given the evidence

we have presented for three major areas – participation, leadership and physical education – the general answer must be no. Admittedly, there has been considerable progress over the last decade or so towards removing many of the institutional and legal barriers to sex equality. Increasing numbers of girls and women participate in sport, whether for recreational or competitive purposes. Much, although not all, of the stigma has gone, as we will see in the next chapter. Nonetheless, women are under-represented in leadership positions, whether it be as a coach, an administrator, an executive or as a member of the physical education and recreation profession. In fact, there are indications that our numbers are declining in these areas. This is an extremely serious problem, which must be recognized before it can be resolved.

# 5
# MYTHS AND REALITIES

Great strides have been made towards removing many of the institutional and legal barriers denying females their due in competitive and recreational sport. But obstacles still remain, many of them attitudinal. Much sexism in sport is based on the notion of inherent female inferiority, the belief in a "weaker sex". Myths associated with this belief have plagued women's sport for over a century, and many still prevail today. Even the superb athlete Grete Waitz, a world-record holder in the women's marathon, has been quoted as saying, "I don't think a woman can run a marathon as fast as a man. Physically men are stronger than we are".[1]

Maybe they are. On the other

hand, all the evidence is not yet in. Over the past few years women athletes have made amazing progress in catching up with their male counterparts. Nonetheless, there is a widely held view that men are, *and always will be*, superior in sporting achievements because of an inherent biological superiority. Questions about women athletes continue to bedevil us. Can they be expected to perform successfully in all sports? Will they become "masculinized" both physically and psychologically? Are they more susceptible to injuries? Will they suffer irreparable damage to their reproductive systems? We hope the day will come when questions such as these are considered irrelevant. Meanwhile there is a growing body of research that can be called upon to answer these questions and refute the myths.

## Myths

### *Female Athletes Are Limited By Their Biology*

We all know that most women cannot run as fast, throw as far, or jump as high as most men. Even among the most superbly trained athletes, there are still substantial performance differentials. For instance, men run the 100 metres 8 per cent faster; they swim the same distance 10 per cent faster; they can jump well over a foot higher than women, and so forth. However, it can be shown quite easily that over the past fifty years, the overall performance of female athletes has improved significantly

relative to male performance. In other words, the gaps are closing fast, especially over the longer distances. There are even predictions that performance equality between the sexes will be achieved in twenty or thirty years.[2] This poses an interesting question. Are women athletes inferior for biological reasons or because they have not benefited over the years from the same systematic and rigorous training as men? Perhaps, as one researcher puts it, learning that she shouldn't be athletic is what makes the female inferior, not the other way around.[3]

There is ample evidence that girls do as well as boys in a variety of physical activities up to the ages of eight or ten. After that, boys continue to improve, while girls improve only slightly, with performance beginning to decline around age fifteen. The reasons, based on the available evidence, appear to be more social and cultural than biological. For instance, when women are given the opportunity to increase their strength through a controlled training program, they make substantial improvements in both upper and lower body strength. In fact, research has shown that if strength is viewed in terms of the size of the individual, minus fat, the strength for men and women is the same *potential*.

As another example, females generally carry a higher percentage of body fat than males, but the reasons are cultural as well as physiological. Inactivity is certainly a cause, as are standards of beauty, which dictate a rounded, "feminine" figure. Through athletic training, however, females can reduce their body fat to levels previously not considered possible. Many long distance runners have 10 to 11 per cent body fat, well into the ideal range for male athletes.[4]

Physiological details about female athletes are very sparse, since most of the research has been done on the male population. In fact, we know so little about the actual physical potential of girls and women that it is impossible to claim categorically that they are limited by their biology.

### *Women Don't Have Men's Endurance*

On September 4, 1981, 5-foot-4-inch, 120-pound Jocelyn Muir, a fifteen-year-old Toronto high school student, became the youngest swimmer ever to conquer the 32-mile stretch across Lake Ontario. She did it in 15 hours, 35 minutes. Marilyn Bell was sixteen when she swam the lake in 1954 and so was Cindy Nicholas, who conquered it twenty years later. In 1977, then nineteen, Cindy swam the English Channel both ways without stopping. She reduced the established time of 30 hours, set by a man, to just 19 hours and 55 minutes. A year later she knocked another 40 minutes off the record. In August 1981, she tried to do something no one else had done before – swim the Channel *three ways* nonstop. This meant she would be in the water for perhaps 40 hours. She failed, but no doubt will try again.[5] In 1979, women competed for the first time in the unbelievable triathalon – a 1.4-mile ocean swim, followed immediately by a 112-mile cycle race, and ending with a 26-mile marathon. Lyn Lemaire, a 26-year-old New England physiologist, finished the non-stop triathalon in 12 hours, 55 minutes and 38 seconds. The only female participant, she was *fifth* in a field of 15.

It has long been argued that females cannot equal the male endurance capacity. Events such as long-distance running were considered harmful to their health. In 1979, the American College of Sports Medicine tried to lay this myth to rest by issuing an official statement on the subject.[6] "There exists", they stated, "no conclusive scientific or medical evidence that long-distance running is contraindicated (inadvisable) for the healthy, trained female athlete." They recommended that females be allowed to run the same distances as males in national and international competitions. It is interesting to note that for years the all-male International Olympic Committee adamantly refused to permit anything more than a 1,500-metre event for women in the Olympics. In the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles, women will have the opportunity to compete in a 3,000-metre race and a 26.2-mile marathon. Marathon running among women has shown a phenomenal growth over the past decade; there is now only a 12.9 per cent difference between the men's and women's world records.

Not only do well-trained female athletes tolerate the physiological stress of endurance events just as well as males, there is some evidence that they may endure it better. Women may tolerate the effects of altitude better because they hyperventilate more; and they may resist heat and cold better because of greater subcutaneous fat. At this stage, we simply do not know. What we do know is that women will continue to improve much faster than men in endurance events because they are obviously much further from their ultimate limit.

***Exercise and Sports Are Harmful to the Reproductive System and Cycle***

Fortunately we have come a long way from the days when it was believed that females should not exercise during menstruation. If anything, exercise may help. Several manufacturers of feminine sanitary products advertise their goods on the basis of their suitability for the active woman.

Unfortunately, however, some people still cling to the archaic belief that certain physical activities will deprive women of their child-bearing capacities. It is true that some women, particularly those in endurance sports, may cease menstruating or have irregular periods while training. Apparently this phenomenon, known as secondary amenorrhea, appears more frequently in women who reached puberty later, who have never been pregnant, or who have taken contraceptive pills.[7] Professional ballet dancers, and women who suffer a severe psychological trauma are also susceptible to this condition, the causes of which have not been pinpointed. There is absolutely no evidence, however, that secondary amenorrhea in athletes is permanent or signals lasting sterility.[8] Obviously it is important to determine the causes and appropriate treatment of amenorrhea, but for the majority of girls and women who exercise moderately it will never be a concern.

Similarly, what are the effects of exercise on pregnancy? There is ample evidence that childbirth is easier and the recovery faster for

women whose lifestyle includes moderate exercise even during pregnancy. Obviously individual pregnancies will differ. The pregnancies of Olympic competitors have been normal in every way.[9] In fact, ten of the twenty-six medal winners at the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne were pregnant and all delivered healthy babies![10]

***Girls and Women Are More Susceptible to Injuries***

Associated with the concern that strenuous physical exercise will adversely affect a woman's child-bearing capacity is the belief that she will also injure her reproductive organs and her breasts. In a comprehensive study conducted in 1976, two researchers concluded that women athletes sustain the same injuries in relatively the same proportion as their male counterparts.[11]

Actually, very few injuries are unique to women. Their reproductive organs are extremely well protected, much more so than the male's! The uterus is surrounded by an aqueous material that absorbs and distributes forces so well that injury is highly unlikely. Anyone who doubts this should take a raw egg, shake it vigorously for a few seconds and then break it open. The yolk will not be broken.

Concern has also been expressed that a blow to the breast may result in cancer. Breast contusions are very infrequent, and there is no evidence to suggest that cancer may result. In a two-year study of American high school girls participating in a variety of sports, *not one* incidence of breast injury was reported.[12] Similarly, an eight-month study of women varsity athletes aged seventeen to twenty-three who participated in eight sports found no injuries to the breasts or pelvis.[13] There is concern among some that the increasing numbers of young girls playing soccer will lead to an increase in breast injuries. A recent evaluation of soccer injuries among American youth made no mention of breast injuries or contusions occurring among the more than 300 girls surveyed, who ranged in age from seven to eighteen.[14]

A few studies suggest that the wider female pelvis and the greater looseness of the female joints make women more susceptible to knee injuries and joint sprains. For instance, in the soccer study reported above, girls accounted for only 27 per cent of the participants, yet 44 per cent of the injuries, most of them in the lower extremities. These injuries are probably due to a lack of muscle tone in the vulnerable areas. It is quite likely that as more and more female athletes benefit from superior training and better coaching, there will be no sex differences in these sorts of injuries.

There are very few reported injuries that are unique to women. In any case, most injuries can be avoided by wearing protective clothing. Men, in general, have never balked at doing anything physical; they merely find a way to protect themselves. So should women.

**Myths That Are Not Really Myths**

There are several other widely held beliefs about female athleticism which are not easy to refute because their truth depends on the meaning we ascribe to such culture-bound terms as "masculinity" and "femininity". For instance, one belief is that strength training will "masculinize" women, causing bulky and unsightly muscles. You cannot refute the fact that if women athletes weight-train, they will experience an increase in muscle girth. Depending on the program, the average woman athlete can achieve an increase of approximately 30 per cent in strength after six months of weight training, with an approximate 5 per cent increase in muscle girth.[15] Males, on the other hand, would experience a much greater increase in girth for the same amount of strength training because they have 20 to 30 times more testosterone, or male hormone, in their body. The point is that well-defined musculature on men is acceptable, in fact envied, whereas on women it is frowned upon at this time. Fortunately, more and more women are deciding for themselves how they wish to look and what shape their body should be, rather than being dictated to by cultural norms. We must encourage our daughters to do the same. The issue is a cultural rather than physiological one.

A second belief concerns the "femininity/sport conflict" we alluded to in the introductory chapter. Sport has traditionally been defined as masculine because it embodies aggression, competition and success, which are considered masculine traits. Within the sports world, there is an unquestioned assumption of the irreconcilability between feminine desirability and athletic prowess: the femininity/sport conflict. For a woman to be aggressive, competitive and successful is to risk her femininity. She is deviating from behaviour considered normal and appropriate for her sex; she becomes, so the belief goes, psychologically "masculinized". If we continue to view behaviour in terms of culturally derived notions of what is "masculine" and "feminine", then it is impossible to refute the claim that sport "masculinizes" women.

Over the years, there has developed a "feminine image" in sport, an image whose very existence depends upon the socially sanctioned view of appropriate feminine demeanor. For instance, it has been quite appropriate for females to engage in sports that are aesthetically pleasing, such as figure skating and synchronized swimming, or where a spatial barrier prevents bodily contact, like volleyball and fencing. Yet it was categorically unacceptable for a woman to subdue another woman through the physical force and body contact required for wrestling, judo and boxing. Vestiges of this attitude still persist today.

What we need is a whole new concept of what it is to be "masculine" or "feminine". It would be better still to rid ourselves of these culture-bound stereotypes altogether. Unfortunately, women athletes are not being well served by many sport psychologists and sociologists. For the past twenty years, a good deal of misguided research has been directed at "proving" that women athletes are still psychologically "feminine", even though they participate in a culturally acknowledged "masculine" activity. The

longer this sort of research continues, the longer we will perpetuate the very stereotypes that should be eliminated.[16]

Finally, there is one other stereotype we must seek to demolish. It is a commonly held belief that many women athletes are lesbians. No one questions the fact that some women athletes, like some non-athletes, are lesbians. To our knowledge, no one has done a head count; nor should anyone bother. For some, the world of sport is considered a sort of fantasy land where all males are heterosexual and all females homosexual. Such views are obviously nonsensical. Common sense also tells us that an athlete's sexual preference has no bearing whatsoever on his or her ability to perform, compete, and pursue excellence. In many ways, gays in sport continually shatter the stereotypical notions about homosexuality so prevalent in our society: that homosexual males are effeminate; that homosexual females are the victims of some hormone disorder; that there is no place for either in sport. They are there, they will continue to be there, and to either ignore them or exaggerate their presence is to uphold a very false image of sport.

# 6

# EFFECTING CHANGE

We have outlined the difficulties women face in the male-dominated sport world, traced the evolution of the problems over the past century, and clearly demonstrated the fallaciousness of the arguments against sexual equality in sport. Two questions now come logically to mind. What efforts are being made to alter the situation? Most important, what is the most effective way to instigate and achieve longlasting improvements?

Let us first review the attempts already made at the federal, provincial and territorial levels to deal with the problems we have discussed.

**Federal Initiatives Regarding Sex Equality in Sport**

It has now been twenty years since the federal government became involved formally in the development of fitness and amateur sport in Canada. During the last two decades we have witnessed an increasing, even remarkable, federal commitment towards the pursuit of excellence and the promotion of fitness through the activities of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch (FASB). Virtually all areas of sport development are now supported by the federal government: coaching, officiating, training, financial assistance for individual athletes, administration and promotion. In addition, there is no question that Canada is in the midst of an amazing "fitness boom". The federal government, in concert with provincial, territorial and municipal authorities, has successfully raised the national awareness of the need for and benefits of fitness. Virtually, everyone has heard of ParticipAction.

Over the same period, the federal government has produced a succession of policy documents, beginning in 1969 with *The Report of the Task Force on Sport for Canadians*, which detailed an appropriate federal sport delivery system. *A Proposed Sport Policy for Canadians* which followed in 1970, led to the establishment of Sport and Recreation Canada, the National Sport and Recreation Centre, the Coaching Association of Canada, Hockey Canada and the Canadian Academy of Sport Medicine. It also led, indirectly, to the establishment of the ParticipAction program. In 1974, a major health policy paper, *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians*, stressed the importance of lifestyle and the value of increased physical activity in improving the health of Canadians. A federal discussion paper entitled *Toward a National Policy on Amateur Sport* was distributed widely in 1977, and nearly 400 briefs were submitted in response. A second discussion paper, *Toward a National Policy on Fitness and Recreation* was released in 1979, along with the federal government's "white paper", *Partners in Pursuit of Excellence: A National Policy on Amateur Sport*. This was the first evidence of a definite policy shift towards federal support for excellence in sport, leaving the primary responsibility for recreational programs to the provinces and territories. In 1981 the federal government released its latest policy statement, *A Challenge to the Nation: Fitness and Amateur Sport in the 80's*. The purpose of the document is to "re-affirm the federal commitment to fitness and amateur sport and to clarify the form that it will take in this decade, so that the amateur sport community, and Canadians generally, will not be faced with uncertainties as to the government's resolve to build upon past successes" (pp. 3-4).

Reviewing the record of the past twelve years we find it significant that the federal government has not yet taken the opportunity to issue a definitive policy statement specifically about sex equality in sport. Nor does it appear to have developed a long-term plan of action outlining what it could and would do, within its mandate, in support of this goal.

What, then, have been the federal initiatives on behalf of women? They begin with the publication in 1970 of the *Report of the Royal*

*Commission on the Status of Women*, which directed two of its many recommendations towards the problem of unequal female participation in sports programs:

> *RECOMMENDATION 77: We recommend that the provinces and territories (a) review their policies and practices to ensure that school programmes provide girls with equal opportunities with boys to participate in athletic and sports activities, and (b) establish policies and practices that will motivate and encourage girls to engage in athletic and sports activities.*
> *RECOMMENDATION 78: We recommend that, pursuant to section 3(d) of the federal Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, a research project be undertaken to (a) determine why fewer girls than boys participate in sport programmes at the school level and (b) recommend remedial action.*[1]

Obviously Recommendation 77 fell outside federal jurisdiction, and we will discuss the provinces' and territories' response to the recommendation in a later section. Recommendation 78, on the other hand, fell directly within the federal mandate, specifically that of the FASB. The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW), established in 1973, has monitored and assessed the federal government's progress toward implementation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission. In 1974, the Council published the following assessment:

> *Since July 1972, the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate of the Department of National Health and Welfare has had on staff a women's consultant whose duties include, among other things, defining the problems facing women in sport, and establishing programs to alleviate these problems. Since that time the women's program has developed to the point of proposing various needed programs dealing with women in sport in the following areas:*
>
> *(1) Educational programs to ascertain the reasons behind the lack of female participation and programs to alleviate the problem areas;*
> *(2) Coaching programs for increasing the quality and quantity of women coaches;*
> *(3) Promotional programs such as symposia, films and printed materials on women in sport;*
> *(4) Establishment of an information retrieval center collecting and distributing needed materials on women in sport;*
> *(5) Development of women officials for the 1976 Olympics and beyond.*
>
> *With reference to this particular recommendation of the Royal Commission, the above Educational Programs will contract the services of physical education experts to: (a) research the present situation and ascertain the reasons why girls do not actively participate in sports; (b) make necessary recommendations to educational boards, physical education departments, and Sport Canada; (c) work through the appropriate channels in the school system to implement recommended programs; (d) establish effective evaluation procedures for the new programs. Implementation of this program is expected to begin in the new fiscal year.*

*Partially Implemented*

*The ACSW has requested further information concerning progress to date and received the following reply on 28 January 1974. In the 1973-74 fiscal year, the Directorate has employed four women to investigate the Canadian sports culture as it pertains to women. Their concerns are: 1) to gather information in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the impediments which deter girls and women from being involved in sports; 2) to redefine various aspects of the existing sports culture to upgrade the status of women in sports; and 3) to encourage a greater female sports participation at various levels (athletes, coaches and administrators).*

*Their efforts have resulted in a variety of proposed programs: 1) a national conference on women in sports is scheduled for spring 1974, and one of the major topics for discussion and action will deal with the lack of opportunities, programs and motivation for girls' sport participation at the elementary and high school level; 2) a film depicting the meaning and worth of sports participation for girls and women, and 3) various promotional and research projects are planned.*[2]

On the surface, it would appear that the FASB supported the goal of sex equality in sport. Unfortunately, a large gap existed between its stated intentions and actual achievements. Few of the programs listed as the responsibility of the "women's consultant" employed in July 1972 have ever been implemented. It was, and still remains, an impossible task to be accomplished by one individual. There was never a "women's staff" *per se*, since individuals were hired by the Branch on a contractual, short-term basis.

Nonetheless, several very worthwhile projects were accomplished in those early years. The first national conference on women and sport was held in Toronto in 1974. The outcome was a series of sensible recommendations directed toward governments, sport and recreation agencies, educational authorities, status of women groups and individuals.[3] The Branch initiated a series of promotional projects aimed at increasing the participation of women in sport and physical activity, including a film ("Your Move"), a photographic display, posters, and a family allowance cheque insert. National sports governing bodies were encouraged to pay more attention to programming for their female members. Two sports designed specifically for women (netball and ringette) were given special funding. However, senior officials in the FASB strongly resisted any suggestion that the administration of sport should be restructured to accommodate the needs of women.[4]

The government has always believed that the needs of women in sport could be adequately met through existing FASB policies, programs and structures. Yet, at no time were studies conducted to document the existing situation for women or to survey their needs. International Women's Year (1975) appeared to have no effect whatsoever on the Branch. Moreover, Branch personnel did not view the women in sport "issue" as particularly significant, since their "policies and programs are not discriminatory", "programs are open to everyone", and "if it *was* an issue, national sport governing bodies would be submitting proposals for programs for women in their sport".[5]

In 1976, the FASB was assigned its own minister, Iona Campagnolo. For the next three years, its major concern was to define its mandate more clearly and develop an effective national sports policy. For the first time there was an indication that women should be treated as a special target population in order to increase their participation in sport and physical activity. However, the Branch continued to overlook the fact that women are sadly under-represented in leadership, administrative and coaching positions.[6] There is no reference to women in *Partners in Pursuit of Excellence*.

The FASB was not called upon again to account for its progress toward achieving sex equality in sport until 1979, when the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women announced the details of the Canadian government's participation in the "World Plan of Action" adopted after the United Nations proclaimed 1975-85 as the Decade for Women. The plan outlines the federal government's "commitment to the women of Canada to equalize opportunities and ensure progress through a series of specific changes to government legislation, policies and programs".[7] As its share in the "plan of action", the Branch outlined a three-stage program aimed at promoting the role of women in all levels of sport and coaching in Canada:

The Branch set the following goals for 1980:

*(1) to continue to compile research information on women in fitness and amateur sport for inclusion in the Sport Information Retrieval Center, Ottawa, Ontario;*

*(2) to continue research in the area of women in sport and recreation administration;*

*(3) to conduct a seminar(s) on "Women in Fitness and Amateur Sport" to further sensitize Branch staff to the special needs of women client groups;*

*(4) to establish a program to enable women within National Sport and Recreation Associations to meet and discuss common problems;*

*(5) to encourage greater participation by women on all hiring boards within the Branch and the National Sport and Recreation Center;*

*(6) to continue efforts to encourage National Sport and Recreation Associations to create new programs or modify existing programs to meet the needs of girls and boys;*

*(7) to continue to work with appropriate National Associations to encourage increased quality and quantity of physical education programming in the school system.*

*By 1982, Fitness and Amateur Sport has declared their plan to develop a promotional package on women in fitness and amateur sport for presentation to the media and general public to encourage the image of the healthy female.*

*And by the end of the Decade for Women in 1985, they will have carried out their planning to the point where the Branch will have developed an "Introduction to Coaching for Women" program via the Coaching Association of*

*Canada to increase the number of qualified female coaches; researched and developed fitness programming for teen-age girls and women between the ages of 20-29 years; and encouraged and supported demonstration projects involving fitness classes and special lifestyle counselling for low-income inner city women.*[8]

The status of this program is difficult to assess. There is, however, an increased awareness on the part of the FASB that it must make a special effort to improve the situation of women, particularly in leadership roles. For instance, the Branch's most recent policy statement includes the recognition that special programs must be developed for women:

*A variety of programs are under way and others will be developed to ensure that women are able to fully participate and excel in all facets of amateur sport, including administrative and executive capacities, where they have been seriously under-represented.*

*These include studies to determine the number of women in leadership positions and the development of a national women-in-sport directory. An experimental sport management internship program for women has also been started, and funds are being made available to permit national sport associations to develop special projects that encourage the involvement of women in various leadership roles.*[9]

*Other programs that will be assigned a higher priority include those aimed at increasing the involvement of women in the management of national sport and recreation organizations. This effort will be a component of the recently announced special program to promote leadership and participatory opportunities for women in sport, recreation and fitness.*[10]

Beyond this rather general statement, what has actually been accomplished? In view of its past performance, 1980 was a turning point for the FASB. A new "women's program" funded by lottery revenues was launched that year. It provided funds for the following projects:[11]

*Leadership survey:* A five-phase study to assess the numbers of women in leadership positions in sport and fitness at the federal, national, provincial, university, and community college level in Canada. This information is published in a national women-in-sport directory.[12]

*Talent bank feasibility study:* a preliminary assessment of the practicality and desirability of setting up a talent bank of background information on outstanding female leaders in sport and fitness. This study has been completed.

*The advancement of women and sport – a planning workshop:* a workshop was held at McMaster University in the spring of 1981 out of which came a new organization, the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport.

*Inner-city women's fitness project:* a demonstration project in Halifax in cooperation with the YMCA aimed at providing fitness classes and lifestyle counselling for low-income, inner city women.[13]

*Post-mastectomy exercise program:* an exercise workshop and program for women who have undergone major breast surgery. It originated in the Vancouver YWCA and has been introduced in other centres across Canada.

*Internship program:* an experimental sport management internship program at the National Sport and Recreation Centre in Ottawa designed to provide on-the-job training for national-calibre female athletes and ex-athletes.

*Promotional projects:* a book of biographical sketches of outstanding Canadian women athletes has been published.[14]

*Special projects:* seed money was made available to national sport associations to permit them to develop projects to encourage the involvement of women in various leadership roles. For example, a grant was given to the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union who appointed a task force to examine the under-representation of women in the C.I.A.U.

Although women athletes have welcomed the recent initiatives taken by the FASB, many still doubt that the Branch seriously wants to promote sex equality in amateur sport and to recognize the special needs of women in both fitness and sport. There are various reasons for this skepticism. For instance, the funds needed to support the "women's program" come from the Branch's share of lottery revenues and therefore could vary from year to year, with deleterious effects on the whole program. Secondly, the Branch seems to prefer gaining as much publicity as possible from many "one-shot" projects, as it does not attack the systemic causes of sex inequality, which will take many years to eradicate.

In addition, the "women's program" of the FASB is not part of the federal bureaucratic network responsible for the status of women.[15] Either the network itself has not considered fitness and sport to be an important issue or the Branch prefers to work in isolation in this regard. The reason for the situation is not important. What counts is that, to achieve credibility, the Branch's program must be recognized as part of the greater federal effort to improve the status of women in Canada.

Finally, the Branch has shown little understanding that *its policies must be premised upon sex equality*, rather than treating women as a special population outside the mainstream of sport. The Government of Canada has repeatedly promised, both nationally and internationally, to bring into effect policies and legislation based on sex equality. International commitments have been publicly expressed through the signing of agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the World Plan of Action on the Status of Women. Merely creating a "women's program" does not ensure that

FASB has the necessary mechanism for implementing the federal government's stated commitment to sex equality.

**Provincial and Territorial Initiatives Regarding Sex Equality in Sport and Physical Education**

Table 6.1 presents a summary of the government initiatives known to have been undertaken at the provincial and territorial level to achieve sex equality in sport and physical education. Our search for studies, surveys, policy papers, and the like entailed contacting departments or ministries of education, sport, recreation and culture, human rights commissions and provincial advisory councils on the status of women. Although we do not claim that this is a definitive list, we consider it very representative of individual provincial and territorial efforts. Our purpose has not been to produce a qualitative comparison of provincial and territorial achievements, an impossible task given population differences, but to provide a quantitative summary of what the provinces and territories have accomplished individually and collectively.

Let us begin with the advisory councils on the status of women since they should provide the impetus for analysis and change no matter what the issue. It should be remembered that while some councils are quite well established – Ontario (1973), Quebec (1973), Saskatchewan (1974), P.E.I. (1975), New Brunswick (1976), and Nova Scotia (1977) – several (Manitoba, Newfoundland and Labrador) have only recently been formed. Nonetheless, very few of these councils have identified sex equality in sport, recreation and physical education as an issue. The Ontario Status of Women Council, and more recently the *Quebec Conseil du statut de la femme* and the New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, are the exceptions.

The reason for the seeming lack of interest among the advisory councils is probably a pragmatic one. There is just so much to do, so many other issues to consider, and each council must set its priorities. It is also quite probable that women involved in sport and recreation do not perceive the advisory councils as possible allies. Consequently there has been little pressure on councils to consider the issue.

On the governmental level, the most visible and exemplary advances have taken place in Quebec. This province's relatively recent interest in eliminating sex discrimination in sport and recreation stems from the recommendations of two major policy studies. The first, *Pour les Québécoises: égalité et indépendance* published in 1979 by the Conseil du statut de la femme, contained several recommendations on leisure, recreation and sport, most of which were directed at the Haut-commissariat à la jeunesse, aux loisirs et aux sports. Shortly afterward, the Haut-commissariat published a "white paper" on leisure in Quebec entitled *On a un monde à récréer*. This policy statement affirmed the necessity of eliminating sexism and discrimination in recreation. "In particular", the document states, "the government will deny any kind of support to a recreational activity whose organizers impose artificial discrimination on the basis of sex".[16]

**TABLE 6.1 Summary of Provincial/Territorial Initiatives Regarding Sex Equality in Sport and Physical Education***

**BRITISH COLUMBIA**

| Dept. of Education | Dept. of Sport/Recreation/ Fitness | Advisory Council on Status of Women | Human Rights Commission |
|---|---|---|---|
| *B.C. Physical Education Assessment* (1979) contains information on sex differences in physical fitness, motor ability, knowledge and understanding, and attitudes.<br><br>*Note*: Yukon follows the B.C. curriculum. | Recreation and Fitness Branch has not addressed issue of sex equality.<br><br>*Note*: Two conferences on women in sport have been held in B.C. See *Women in Motion: Health, Sport and Recreation* (1975) and *The Female Athlete* (1980). The latter was national in scope. | None exists. | Does not accept cases of sex discrimination in amateur sport. |

**ALBERTA**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Currently funding a longitudinal study on the physical activity patterns of adolescent girls.<br><br>New curriculum being piloted in elementary schools.<br><br>New curriculum for secondary schools in progress. | *Sport in Alberta: Let's Work Together* (1980), a study directed at improved coordination of sport in Alberta does not address the issue of sex equality. Alberta Recreation and Parks is currently reviewing its sport and recreation policy in all aspects including sex equality. | None exists. | Several cases involving restricted hours at golf clubs. Now deemed private clubs and cases no longer taken. One other case settled positively.<br><br>HRC actively discussing policy direction. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tries to eliminate sexism from all teaching materials. | *Note*: Two conferences on women in sport have been held in Alberta. One in 1977 (no report available) and *Women in Athletic Administration in Canadian Universities* (1981) which was national in scope. | | |

* According to information received prior to December 1981.

**SASKATCHEWAN**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No information available.<br><br>See, however, recommendations relating to physical fitness in *Report of the Task Force on Women's Health* (1980). | Sports and Recreation Branch has sponsored two conferences on women and recreation. See *Sport and Recreation as it Affects Women* (1975). No report available from 1977 "Why Not Recreate" Workshop. | Some informal discussions have taken place with Sports & Recreation Branch. | Several informal cases involving restricted hours for women at golf clubs. Two formal cases involving hockey, now closed. |

**MANITOBA**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New curriculum in place. All material being examined for sexist content. | Informed by officials in the Dept. of Fitness, Recreation & Sport that there is no need to do a study. | Only just formed. Has not made sport an issue. | One formal case involving hockey now closed due to precedent established in an Ontario case. Several unresolved informal cases also involving hockey. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Discussion paper on opportunities for girls in physical education for Minister of Education (see Taylor, 1977). | | | Discussions in progress with provincial sport organizations. |
| **ONTARIO** | | | |
| Have funded *The Role of Interschool Sports Programs in Ontario Secondary Schools* (1977), *Factors Influencing the Election of Secondary School Physical Education and Their Relationship to Benefits Accruing From Such Programs* (1978), *Physical Education in Secondary Schools: Non-Participation Consequences: A Follow-Up Study* (1981) all of which give breakdowns by sex. | Sports and Fitness Branch currently undertaking several studies: e.g., comparison of men and women in leadership roles in Ontario amateur sport, sex-integrated sport in Ontario, women and coaching in Ontario.<br><br>Have published: *The Female in Public Recreation* (1976) and *Do Women Have Equal Pay?* (1975).<br><br>*Note*: A "Women in Sport" Symposium was held at the University of Waterloo in 1974 — one of the first of its kind anywhere. | Published *About Face: Towards a Positive Image of Women in Sport* (1976).<br><br>*Mayor's Task Force on the Status of Women in Toronto Final Report* contains section on recreation. | Two cases lost at Supreme Court of Ontario Court of Appeal.<br><br>Still has nearly 20 unresolved cases.<br><br>Trying to get a case to a Board of Inquiry.<br><br>*Note:* In a recent revision to the Ontario Human Rights Code, a special clause permitting sex discrimination in athletics and recreation was inserted (see Chapter 2). |

**QUEBEC**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Have attempted to eliminate sex stereotypes from all teaching materials.<br><br>All teaching personnel are made aware of sexism and learn to eliminate it from their teaching.<br><br>A new program of physical education in elementary and secondary schools was launched in 1980. The acquisition of skills is stressed rather than competition.<br><br>Colleges are encouraged to offer self-defence courses as part of their optional sports program.<br><br>See *État des actions gouvernementales en matière de condition féminine 1979-1980* (pp. 42-51) and *1980-1981* (pp. 34-46). | ministère du Loisir, de la Chasse et de la Pêche established in 1979. Created in the deputy minister's office the position of coordinator for all activities relative to the status of women.<br><br>Goals have been established and special programs put into effect (see text).<br><br>See *État des actions gouvernementales en matière de condition féminine 1979-1980* (pp. 56-59) and *1980-1981* (pp. 78-84). | *Pour les Québécoises, égalité et indépendence* (1978) has sections on women, sport and leisure. By and large, recommendations have been acted upon by Ministère du Loisir, de la Chasse et de la Pêche. Continues to take an active interest – e.g., Special feature in monthly bulletin (see Gagnon, 1980).<br><br>See also a section on femininity and physical activity in *Essai sur la santé des femmes* (1981).<br><br>Volunteer sector also taking an interest – e.g., l'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale currently sponsoring colliquiums on women and physical activity. | One case won in Quebec Superior Court.<br><br>No unresolved cases. |

**NEW BRUNSWICK**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New curriculum in elementary schools.<br><br>Program seen as meeting the needs of females in junior and senior high schools. | Youth, Recreation and Cultural Resources recently (1980) published *Report of the New Brunswick Task Force on Amateur Sport*. No recommendations specifically relating to women. | Submitted a brief to the N.B. Task Force on Amateur Sport which was ignored.<br><br>Have recently hired a new researcher to work on a "sports policy" and to extend the brief to their own task force. | Several cases unresolved. Still using "good offices" approach. |

**NOVA SCOTIA**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No information available. | Culture, Recreation and Fitness does not appear to have a policy. | *Herself/Elle même*, Report on the N.S. Task Force on the Status of Women has section on sports, recreation and leisure.<br><br>Advisory Council has not made sport an issue. | One case won through a Board of Inquiry. No appeal was made. |

**PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No special program or policy. | No information available. | Has not made sport an issue. | No cases to date. |

**NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Policy directive from Minister to eliminate sex bias in schools. No need seen for further policy or program re sport. | Co-sponsored a conference: see *Newfoundland and Labrador Conference on Women in Sport* (1975). | Has only just been created. No policy, as yet, on sport. | No cases to date. |

Later in 1979 the Quebec government established a new department, le ministère du Loisir, de la Chasse et de la Pêche, with direct responsibility for the development of sport and recreation. In order to focus on the status of women in matters under the department's jurisdiction, the position of a special advisor to the deputy minister was created in 1980. The responsibilities of the individual in this position include acting as a consultant on all matters concerning the status of women, and evaluating and implementing the plans of the Ministry relating to the condition of women. This is partly different from the "women's program" of the FASB because it allows for coordination with other departments, all of which have similar advisors, and ensures that the department is accountable for its progress (or lack thereof) in combatting sex discrimination.

What are the new Ministry's plans and what has been accomplished so far?[17] The emphasis to date has been on communication, research, recreation, physical fitness, facilities, and employment. For example, all communications and material emanating from the Ministry are to be free of sexism. All statistical reports are to include sex as a variable. Specific research projects either completed or currently underway will provide a great deal of information on such things as the physical fitness of Quebec women, the distribution and availability of municipal programs, and the proportion of females among high-performance athletes. As for general recreation, a comprehensive policy has been established to ensure the accessibility of vacation sites for families. Also, symposia on the theme of "women and recreation" have been held in order to make municipal authorities more aware of the needs of women.

Kino-Québec, a government-supported physical fitness campaign, is directing special attention to women. Kino-Québec has sponsored workshops on physical conditioning for pregnant women, has produced a manual on rhythmic gymnastics and is promoting a self-defense program for women. Financial support is available to groups who wish to embark on an experimental recreation program aimed at women not easily reached by traditional programs. For instance, a subsidy was awarded to a recreation program for women and children who are victims of violence.

In order to improve access to recreational facilities, experimental "stopover care centres" have been set up in vacation parks, subsidies are available for municipalities wishing to establish day care centres in their recreation facilities, and the adequate provision of washrooms and showers for both sexes in all recreation facilities no longer appears to be a problem.

The Ministry even initiated a three-year (1980-83) equal employment program to increase substantially not only the number and but also the general level of responsibility of its female employees. A talent bank of qualified women has been established in cooperation with the *Conseil du statut de la femme* in order to improve the proportion of women in leisure and recreation jobs. The individual sports federations have been encouraged to improve the ratio of women coaches, officials and administrators.

From the outside, the progress made in Quebec seems quite remarkable. Not only is the Quebec government committed to eliminating sex discrimination and establishing policies truly based on sex equality, it has chosen to do it through incentive programs rather than a "big stick" approach. Nonetheless, its human rights legislation is among the most progressive in Canada. It is because the Quebec legislation is much more precise and broader in scope that Françoise Turbide won her case against the *Fédération québécoise de hockey sur glace* (see Chapter 2), the only really successfully litigated case of its kind in Canada. Quebec is in the forefront of social change and moving quickly towards achieving true equality for women in sport and recreation.

The Ontario government, through its Ministry of Education and the Sports and Fitness Branch of its Ministry of Culture and Recreation, appears to be leading the way in terms of research. We have referred in Chapter 4 to the information contained in their studies on women in public recreation, the role of interschool sports programs, the factors influencing the election of secondary school physical education, the consequences of non-participation, men and women in sport leadership roles, and so on. This sort of very basic, descriptive information is badly needed to assess the true nature of sex discrimination in sport and to identify the key problem areas. It also reflects an understanding that there *is* a problem, something that we are not convinced is really appreciated in many provinces and territories.

Of particular significance is the April 1982 appointment by Order-in-Council of an advisory body to make recommendations to the Ministry of Labour in respect of equal treatment of the sexes in athletics. We believe that the terms of reference given this group should provide an opportunity to examine in greater detail many of the inequities documented in this report. The results may even persuade the Ontario government to reconsider its recent amendment to the Human Rights Code.

Chapter 2 contains a detailed analysis of the effectiveness of provincial human rights legislation in dealing with sex discrimination in amateur sport. We wish merely to note here that in our opinion too few commissions have fully addressed the issue. In other words, no provincial commission has studied the issue enough to become pro-active rather than reactive.

**Private Sector Initiatives Regarding Sex Equality in Sport**

On the whole, there have been surprisingly few private sector, or volunteer, efforts made to either raise the issue of sex discrimination in sport or find ways to press for sex equality. This is not to deny that there have been some influential individual efforts. For instance, those who have suffered discrimination and seek redress through human rights legislation deserve a great deal of credit, not only for initially deciding to lodge a formal complaint but also for persevering patiently through what is usually two or three years of litigation.

By and large, conferences have been the favoured means of achieving greater awareness of the issues surrounding the participation of women in sport. Following the federally-sponsored conference on women and sport in May 1974, various regional and provincial conferences were held in Ontario, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Newfoundland and Alberta, some co-sponsored by the respective provincial government, others organized by an ad-hoc group of interested individuals. Each conference has produced a series of recommendations directed at government agencies, educational authorities or sports governing bodies; most of these proposals, judging by the level of change, have been ignored.

This is not to suggest that these conferences serve no useful purpose. They invariably increase the awareness of those who attend, provide a forum for the discussion and possible resolution of differing viewpoints, and help expand the network of individuals and groups needed to stimulate change. If they focus on a very specific group, as did the recent national conference on women in athletic administration at Canadian universities, they can be most productive.[18]

Aside from the efforts of some of the provincial advisory councils on the status of women, the Canadian women's movement has in the past, been noticeably silent on the issue of sex discrimination in sport. Feminist literature rarely mentions the subject. This should not be surprising, since no matter what the intellectual tradition, it has been fashionable to consider sport so trivial and insignificant that to spend time and words studying it is perceived as a senseless pursuit. Elizabeth Janeway, for instance, suggests in *Man's World. Woman's Place*, that just as women's skills once necessary for feeding and clothing humankind have deteriorated into hobbies, so too have men's survival skills and prowess degenerated into sport. They have, she continues, become adult play, imitating the realities of work and becoming a substitute for living.[19] No one denies that the very essence of sport and games is the sense of make-believe, spontaneity and freedom. In fact, one Canadian sportswriter has disparagingly labelled sports "the play-pen world" and the "toy universe". Despite its childish image, sport is incredibly pervasive, touching the existence of all individuals, male and female, at some point during their lives. Some grow to hate all forms of physical activity, others despise the crass commercialization of professional sport, but many find pleasure in maintaining a life-long fitness through some form of physical recreation.

At the same time, most sportswomen and professional physical educators have shown little interest in feminism and the women's movement in general. Beneath the apathy we often find antagonism, resentment and unfortunate misconceptions.

It has taken a long time, but there are now signs of an increasing interest in sport on the part of feminists along with a growing commitment to feminism among sportswomen. On the practical level we see the exciting growth of structures and programs designed specifically by and for women, such as women's running and fitness clubs, wilderness

groups offering outdoor experiences exclusively for women, specialized magazines, articles in popular feminist publications and self-defense courses for women. The feminist health movement is finally beginning to take an active role in promoting the physical fitness of women. As we have mentioned earlier, it was through a complaint laid by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (a volunteer women's lobby group) that the Canadian Human Rights Commission must investigate why the organizers of an international youth soccer tournament banned a player from competing because of her sex.

Also encouraging is the recent formation of groups such as the Ontario-based Women Active in Sports Administration (WASA), designed to enhance the professional development of women in sport, improve communication channels between women in sport administration and other status of women groups, and improve the status of women involved in sport administration (see Appendix for more information). Another exciting development is the recent founding of a new national organization, the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS), which will initially focus on research, communication, leadership and advocacy. We hope it will eventually interact with the already existing Canadian feminist network, such as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW), the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW), the Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale (AFEAS), and the Fédération des femmes du Québec.

## Developing a Feminist Presence in Sport

These indications of growing mutual awareness and acceptance by sportswomen and feminists offer encouragement to everyone concerned about the furtherance of sex equality in sport. Such interaction is essential because only through the development of a feminist consciousness among women in sport can this goal be achieved. Feminists, too, must realize the significance of sport to both the well-being of the individual woman and the cultural framework of society.

The values of feminism provide a perspective that helps us recognize oppression of women in our society. With that recognition, feminism then guides women to work together and as individuals to eradicate oppression of women wherever it appears, from the hockey rink to the Houses of Parliament.

So often we have heard our friends and colleagues in sport, recreation or physical education say, "Oh, I'm not a women's libber or even a feminist, but I think. . ." and there follows a whole litany of complaints against the patriarchal world of sport. To achieve real and lasting improvements in the current situation, all women must work for the basic societal reforms that will free both men and women from traditional "masculine" and "feminine" behaviour patterns. Sportswomen can no longer afford the luxury of considering feminism an issue remote from their daily lives.

For women actively involved in sport, asking "why" is the first step towards developing a feminist consciousness. Why should sports and activities be sex-stereotyped? Why should there not be integration in athletic programs? Why should girls and women have unequal access to funds and facilities within public sport and recreation programs? Why should it be the right of minor sports leagues to provide programs (in public facilities and with public money) for boys only? Why must there always be unequal representation among women within the organizational structure of sports in which both sexes participate equally? Why do we allow usually sensible people to rage against contact sports for females on indefensible physiological grounds?

Having come to grips with issues such as these, we must next determine how best to effect the required changes.

No matter what the issue, there are several strategies for achieving social reform. But first we must decide whether the problem can best be solved at the individual level or at the structural level, or by some combination of the two. For instance, we have documented in Chapter 4 the decreasing autonomy of women's sports programs in Canadian universities.[20] The number of active participants is increasing, and yet the number of female coaches and administrators is decreasing.

We could suggest that the problem rests entirely with the individuals concerned; in this case, women in university athletic administration. We have all heard the comments of those who would put the blame entirely on women's shoulders: "women are their own worst enemies"; "women could get ahead if only they would work harder"; "women don't seek

responsibility, they shy away from it"; and "women aren't interested in getting ahead anyway".

Then there are those who suggest that the problem is a structural one; its roots lie within an uncompromising system. Those who adhere to it would suggest that there are societal strains and tensions constraining or preventing women from getting ahead. For instance, if a married man with a family receives a promotion or seeks a new job, it is assumed that his wife and family will go with him. No such assumptions are made about the woman who is married and has a family, even though she, too, is pursuing a career. No doubt there are exceptions, but they are remarkable. In the same vein, it is suggested that institutions usually cannot accept that women may require the benefit of special hiring programs to ensure they are well represented at all levels. Finally, a structural or sociological interpretation of this problem would question whether administrative systems always have to be of one kind – hierarchical and patriarchal – because such organizations generally tend to work against women.

Those who favour a more individual or psychological approach to social change do so because they believe there are clear limitations to structural and sociological analyses. It is also argued that although it would be possible to make things fairer and give everyone as equal an opportunity as possible, such equality cannot be legislated. Rather, change will come only when each individual is allowed to grow and function as creatively and with as much freedom as possible. Women, in particular, are seen as the enablers of this change because they are "well schooled in the values of community and cooperation".[21] "They are not", it is argued, "locked into the prevailing status system and their commitments are to community and solidarity between people and groups rather than to individualism and status". Because of this, women are in the best position to encourage all the positive values that have been sadly neglected in sport: mutual understanding, the enjoyment of competence, self-exploration, and new definitions of excellence.[22]

Although we are in complete agreement with the potential change in values in the sports world envisaged by supporters of the individualistic approach, we have concluded that it might not be successful in achieving those forms we consider essential. It is likely to do little to eliminate the blatant sex discrimination so prevalent in the sports world, to bring about true sex equality in sport, or to give women the power they need to improve the sports world for everyone.

Having opted for the structural approach to change, the next step is to examine the two basic strategies available for transforming society. One approach is through reform of the existing political and social structure, which is viewed as essentially quite adequate. The other way is much more radical and goes to the root of the problem: true equality is considered to be possible only through the complete restructuring of society, not merely through the reform of the existing structure. Unfortunately, there is often little common ground between reformists and radicals.

Those advocating reform are usually incensed by the impatience of the radicals, and those calling for revolution cannot comprehend the patience of the reformists.

The perspectives of the two factions may be vastly different. Many radicals completely reject male-dominated institutions and endorse only institutions created for women by women. Here they are free to define their own goals and ways of operating without having to compromise or "do battle" with the male establishment.[23] Growing numbers of women are prepared to do this even though it may result in inadequate funding, ridicule or vehement opposition. The feminist health movement, which is beginning to take an active interest in physical fitness, is a good example of such an alternative approach. However, women who advocate alternative structures and institutions are often viewed by their more moderate counterparts as unrealistic, uncompromising, and ultimately self-defeating. They are doomed to failure because they cannot accommodate themselves to the existing power structure.

Reformists, in contrast, work towards assimilation into the current structure and downplay criticisms of it. Change is defined in terms of "women gaining access to culturally valued spheres of action rather than changing those cultural values and actions".[24] Women have, in other words, a legitimate – even legal – right to gain access to cultural activities, such as sport, from which they have been historically excluded. Reformists are accused by radicals of being co-opted by the system or of advancing their personal interests at the expense of women as a whole.

There are problems associated with each of these approaches to social change. Our position, and we have not come to this easily, is that it is necessary at times to advocate reform and assimilation and at other times to press for radically alternative structures, because perhaps then the reformists and radicals will continue talking to and working with each other.[25] This does not mean that *individuals* must try to hold both positions simultaneously, because this would entail continual compromise. Nonetheless, it is vitally important, if significant change is to be brought about, to address each problem from both perspectives. In this way, each view will inform the other.

In conclusion, we argue for the inclusion of sports issues in feminist efforts because we see this, as the only possible route to change for the betterment of both women *and* sport. We must not accept the notion that women, although different, are physically inferior to men and therefore require special consideration and protection; we should refute the dogma that boys are more naturally predisposed than girls to athletic activity; and we should constantly challenge the stereotyping of human traits on a masculine/feminine dichotomy as serving only to accentuate the oppressive effect of our culture on both females and males. Achieving these changes in the domain of sport will bring our society one step closer to obtaining equality and liberation for everyone.

# FOOTNOTES

**Chapter 1**

There are no footnotes in this chapter.

**Chapter 2**

1. This section and the next have benefitted greatly from some of the ideas in Jane English, "Sex Equality in Sports", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 7(3), 1978, pp. 268-277 and Patricia L. Geadelmann et al., *Equality in Sport for Women* (Washington: AAHPER Publications, 1977), Chapter 1. However, we take responsibility for the way in which these ideas are expressed here.

2. English, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

3. Jane English (ed.), "Introduction" in *Sex Equality* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 9.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, *Proceedings of Women's Hockey Workshop*, Ottawa, 21-23 October, 1977.

6. Bonnie L. Parkhouse and Jackie Lapin, *Women Who Win: Exercising Your Rights in Sport* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980).

7. Geadelmann et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 184-190.

8. Parkhouse and Lapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-246.

9. Geadelmann et al., *op. cit.* Chapter 3; and Parkhouse and Lapin, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2.

10. Parkhouse and Lapin provide the details in their previously cited work, pp. 19-21.

11. *Bannerman v. Ontario Rural Softball Association.* Unpublished decision. Ontario Human Rights Commission Board of Inquiry, 1979.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Re Bannerman v. Ontario Rural Softball Association (1979)*, The Supreme Court of Ontario Court of Appeal, 26 O.R. (2d) 134.

14. *Re Bannerman v. Ontario Rural Softball Association (1979)*, 26 O.R. (2d) 134; 102 D.L.R. (3d) 303; 10 R.F.L. (2d) 97, (Ontario Court of Appeal); leave to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada denied 32 N.R. 171.

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21. Australian Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, *Women in Sport Newsletter.* January, 1979.

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2. *The Daily Globe*, October 31, 1979.

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10. The source of the U.S. material is Twin, *op. cit.*

11. Twin, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228.

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20. F.A.M. Webster, *Athletics of To-day for Women: History, Development and Training* (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1930).

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24. Canada was among those countries which boycotted the 1980 Summer Olympics.

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2. Statistics Canada, *Culture Statistics: Recreational Activities 1976* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1978).

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11. Statistics supplied by Lorne R. Wood, Executive Director, Alberta Schools' Athletic Association.

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13. Macintosh, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

14. Joan Vickers et al., "A Comparative Study of Relative Opportunities for Women in the C.I.A.U., 1978-1981", Report presented to the C.I.A.U., June, 1981.

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30. R.B. Beamish, "Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics of the National Executives of Selected Amateur Sports in Canada (1975)", Working Papers in the Sociological Study of Sport and Leisure, Queen's University, Vol. One, No. 1, 1978. Also, Robert G. Hollands and Richard S. Gruneau, "Social Class and Voluntary Action in the Administration of Canadian Amateur Sport", Working

Papers in the Sociological Study of Sport and Leisure, Queen's University, Vol. Two, No. 3, 1979.

31. Abby Hoffman was elected to the COA Executive in 1981 but relinquished her position when she became Director of Sport Canada in the same year.

32. Vickers, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

33. Theobald, *op. cit.*

34. Geadelmann et al., *op. cit.*, p. 26ff.

35. We are aware of one study conducted in Manitoba: Linda Taylor, "Discussion Paper on Opportunities for Girls in Physical Education", Department of Education, Winnipeg, June, 1977.

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38. Janice Butcher, "Physical Activity Participation of Adolescent Girls", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1980.

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41. The guide does state that "emphasis should be placed on coeducational instruction, as it assists in the social development of students at the various stages of their lives. Where activities do not lend themselves to coeducational structure per se, alternative strategies could be employed". (p. 41.).

42. An example of such a project in the United States is *Physical Educators for Educational Equity*, a program funded by a grant from the Women's Educational Equity Act. They have developed a series of instructional modules for physical education teachers in order to reduce sex bias in instruction and program operation.

43. Dorothy E. Smith et al., "Working Paper on the Implications of Declining Enrolment for Women Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Ontario", Report to the Commission on Declining School Enrolments in Ontario, 1978.

44. Smith, *op. cit.*, p.50.

45. M. Ann Hall and Patricia A. Lawson, "Womansport: Implications of the Changing Roles of Women", in Frank J. Hayden (ed.), *Body and Mind in the 90s,* McMaster University, 1980, pp. 341-364.

46. Jill M. Vickers and June Adam, *But Can You Type? Canadian Universities and the Status of Women* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1977).

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2. K.F. Dyer, "The Trend in the Male-Female Performance Differential in Athletics, Swimming and Cycling 1948-76", *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 9, 1977, pp. 325-338.

3. Jack H. Wilmore, "They Told You You Couldn't Compete With Men and You, Like a Fool, Believed Them. Here's Hope", *women's Sports*, 1(1), 1974, pp. 40-43, 83.

4. Susanne L. Higgs, "Physiological Concerns of Physically Active Women", *The Female Athlete*, Proceedings of a national conference about women in sports and recreation, Simon Fraser University, 21-23 March, 1980, pp. 35-43.

5. The three-ways, nonstop swim of the English Channel was accomplished a few days later by a 26-year-old male phys-ed teacher from Chicago, who completed it in 38 hours and 27 minutes.

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6. Iona Campagnolo, Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport, *Toward a National Policy on Amateur Sport*, A Working Paper, Ottawa, 1977, p. 11.

7. Status of Women Canada, *Towards Equality for Women*, (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1979).

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10. Regan, *Op Cit.*, p. 20.

11. This information has been compiled from the Game Plan Information Office publication *Champion*, 5(1), Supplement, Ottawa, March, 1981.

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15. There are two major kinds of federal government structures with specific responsibilities related to the status of women: (1) *organizational units* which have specific policy or program responsibilities affecting women throughout the government or throughout Canada (e.g., Status of Women Canada, Women's Program in Secretary of State, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women); (2) *"integration mechanisms"* within each department which are responsible for ensuring that women's concerns are integrated into the work of that department. These integration mechanisms vary considerably from department to department – some are very effective, others much less so (from *Federal Government Policy and*

*Decision-Making Process*, a handbook for women's groups in Canada, Status of Women Canada, 1981).

16. Government of Quebec, *On a un monde à récréer*, A white paper on Leisure in Quebec, 1979, official English translation, p. 67.

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21. Dorcas Susan Butt, "New Horizons for Women in Sport", in W.F. Straub (ed.), *Sport Psychology: An Analysis of Athlete Behavior* (New York: Mouvement Publications, 1978), pp. 189-195.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Marcia Westkott and Jay J. Coakley, "Women in Sport: Modalities of Feminist Social Change", *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 5(2), 1981, pp. 32-43.

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## V. Judicial Decisions

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*Bannerman v. Ontario Rural Softball Association*. Unpublished decision. Ontario Human Rights Commission Board of Inquiry, 1979.

*Re Bannerman v. Ontario Rural Softball Association*, 21 O.R. (2d) 395 (Ontario High Court); 26 O.R. (2d) 134; 102 D.L.R. (3d) 303; 10 R.F.L. (2d) 97 (Ontario Court of Appeal), leave to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada denied 31 N.R. 171.

*Re Cummings v. Ontario Minor Hockey Association* (1978), 21 O.R. (2d) 389; 90 D.L.R. (3d) 568; 10 R.F.L. (2d) 121 (Ontario High Court); 29 R.F.L. (2d) 259.

*Re Forbes v. Yarmouth Minor Hockey Association* (1978). Decision of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission Board of Inquiry (unreported). A digest of the case is to be found in *Human Rights Case Index for Canada, Vol. II*.

# APPENDIX

## FURTHER READINGS

There are a number of books on the general topic of "women in sport". We suggest the following:


Adrian, Marlene and Judith Brame, eds. *National Association of Girls and Women's Sports Research Reports: Women in Sports*, Volume III. Washington, D.C.: AAHPER Publications, 1977. Volume I (1971) and Volume II (1973) are also available.

Boslooper, Thomas and Marcia Hayes. *The Femininity Game*. New York: Stein and Day, 1973.

Cochrane, Jean, Abby Hoffman and Pat Kincaid. *Women in Canadian Life: Sports*. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977.

Geadelmann, Patricia L., Christine Grant, Yvonne Slatton and N. Peggy Burke. *Equality in Sport for Women*. Washington, D.C.: AAHPER Publications, 1977.

Gerber, Ellen W., Jan Felshin, Pearl Berlin and Waneen Wyrick. *The American Woman in Sport*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1974.

Hall, M. Ann. *Sport and Gender: A Feminist Perspective on the Sociology of Sport*. University of Calgary: AAHPER Sociology of Sport Monograph Series, 1978.

Hoepner, Barbara J. ed. *Women's Athletics: Coping With Controversy*. Washington, D.C.: AAHPER Publications, 1974.

Kaplan, Janice. *Women and Sports*. New York: Viking Press, 1979

Oglesby, Carole A. *Women and Sport: From Myth to Reality*. Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1978.

Parkhouse, Bonnie L. and Jackie Lapin. *Women Who Win: Exercising Your Rights in Sport*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980.

Scott, M. Gladys and Judith Brame, eds. *Women as Leaders in Physical Education and Sport*. Iowa City: The University of Iowa, 1979.

Twin, Stephenie L. *Out of the Bleachers: Writings on Women and Sport*. New York: The Feminist Press and McGraw-Hill, 1979.


## FILMS

Although there is a growing number of American films on the topic of women in sport, there are, to our knowledge, only two Canadian films. The following are films we have used and have found successful for discussion purposes:

**Your Move**

23 minutes 16 mm colour

This film refutes old myths and celebrates the benefits of physical activity. For health, for grace, for a good game, for excitement, for enjoying the seasons, for mental alertness, for easing tensions, for a gold medal in the Olympics, the film encourages women to move.

Distributed by the National Film Board of Canada.

**Just For Me**

27 minutes 16 mm colour

This film is about three women with children, husbands and careers who decide that it is time for a change. It is not about women athletes or sports or even physical fitness. It is about taking time for yourself, feeling good and having fun through physical activity.

Distributed by National Film Board of Canada

**Women in Sports: An Informal History**

28 minutes 16 mm colour

Women competing in a 26-mile marathon provide an exciting symbol of women's true physical capabilities. The struggle and glory portrayed in this race parallel women's growing participation in sport, from the days when they were restricted to calesthenics, croquet and archery, to the present enthusiasm for a wide variety of vigorous sports and the emergence of great 20th century athletes from Gertrude Ederle to Billie Jean King.

Produced by Altana Films (New York).

Canadian Distributors:

Kinetic Film Enterprises Ltd.
781 Gerrard Street East
Toronto, Ontario
M4M 1Y5

**Young Women in Sports**

15 minutes 16 mm colour

Four exciting young athletes explore their feelings about strength, about competition, about themselves as women and as athletes, and about the benefits of participation in sports: Terri Sabol (discus), Kyle Gayner (gymnastics), Gayle Butler (track) and Shirley Babashoff (swimming).

Available from:

BFA Educational Media
A Division of CBS Inc.,
Dept. 814
2211 Michigan Avenue
P.O. Box 1795
Santa Monica, CA 90406
U.S.A.

**SugarnSpikes**
30 minutes Available in several videotape formats

This film presents a variety of viewpoints on the controversial issues surrounding women athletes. Included are interviews with coaches, lawyers, students, teachers, media people and the athletes themselves. Emerging out of the interviews and sports action is a collection of opinions and explanations on topics like integrated teams, media coverage, unequal funding and the image of the female athlete.
Available from:

SugarnSpikes
1015 Ackerman Avenue
Syracuse, NY 13210
U.S.A.

**Women in Sports Series**
Each film is 22 minutes 16 mm colour

Exciting documentaries depicting the personal ambitions and professional achievements of successful female athletes: Barbara Roquemore (Parachuting), Billie Jean King (Tennis), Joan Weston (Roller Derby) and Kiki Cutter Beattie (Skiing).

Canadian Distributor:

Canadian Learning Company
67 Mowat Avenue, Suite 338
Toronto, Ontario
M6K 3E3

## ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Canadian Association for the Advancement
of Women and Sport (CAAWS)
P.O. Box 3769
Station C
Ottawa, Ontario
K1Y 4J8

Women Active in Sports Administration (WASA)
160 Vanderhoof Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M4G 4B8

Canadian Research Institute for the
Advancement of Women (CRIAW)
151 Slater Street, Suite 415
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 6C4

National Action Committee on the
Status of Women (NAC)
40 St. Clair Avenue East, Suite 300
Toronto, Ontario
M4T 1M9

Canadian Congress on Learning
Opportunities for Women (CCLOW)
29 Prince Arthur Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M5R 1B2

Association féminine d'éducation et
d'action sociale (AFEAS)
180 est, boul. Dorchester, suite 200
Montréal (Québec)
H2X 1N6

Fédération des femmes du Québec
1600, rue Berri, pièce 3115
Montréal (Québec)
H2L 4E4

## PHOTO CREDITS

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